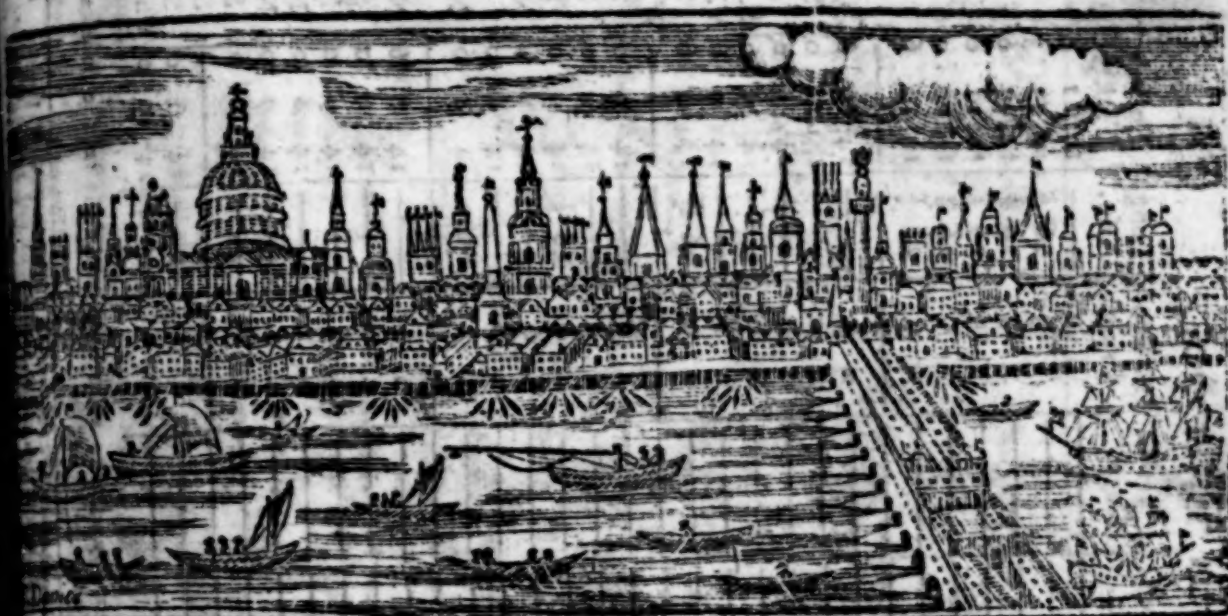


The LONDON MAGAZINE.



Or, GENTLEMAN'S *Monthly Intelligencer*;

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WITH

Accurate MAP of the MOREA and the ISLANDS in the ARCHIPELAGO, with the neighbouring Countries in Greece, being the SEAT of WAR between the RUSSIANS and TURKS.

LONDON: Printed for R. BALDWIN, at No. 47. in Pater-noster Row; where may be had complete Sets, from the Year 1732, to the present Time; ready bound or stitched, or any Single Month to complete Sets.

PRICES OF STOCKS, &c. in JUNE, 1770.

	Bank Stock	India Stock	Sou. Sea. Stock	Old S.S. Ann.	New S.S. Ann.	3 per C. reduced	3 per C. confol.	3 1/2 per C. 1756.	3 1/2 per C. 1758.	4 per C. confol.	4 per C. 1763.	4 per C. Navy.	4 per C. In. Bond. Prem.	Long. Ann.	Lottery Tickets	Wind at Deal.	Weather
28	154			84	85	85	86	90	90	96			1 19	26	14 11	N. E.	London
29	154		Shut	84		85	86			96			1 19	26	14 11	N. E.	Cold
30	154			84		86	86	100	90	96			1 19	26	14 11	N. E.	Cold
31	153			84		85	86		90	96			1 19	26	14 11	N. E.	Cold
1	153			84	85	80	87		90	96			2 0	26	14 10	N. E.	Cold
2				84	85	86	87			96			2 1	26	14 10	S. W.	Cold
3	Sunday															S. W.	Cold
4																S. W.	Cold
5		227 1/2				85	86			96			2 1		14 10	S. W.	Rain
6						85	86			96			2 0		14 10	S. W.	Rain
7	153					85	86			96			1 19		14 9	S. W.	Rain
8	153					85	86			96			2 0		14 9	S. S. W.	Rain
9	153	229 1/2			85	85	86		90	96			2 1	26 1/2	14 9	N. N. E.	Fair
10	Sunday				85	85	86			97			2 0		14 9	S. W.	Fair
11		228 1/2		84	85	85	86	101		96			2 0		14 9	S. W.	Fair
12	153			84	85	85	86		90	96			2 0	26 1/2	14 9	S. W.	Fair
13	153	229		84	85	85	86	101		96			2 0		14 9	S. W.	Fair
14	153			84	85	85	86		90	95			2 0		14 8	N. W.	Windy
15	154			84	85	85	86	Shut		96			2 0		14 8	W.	Fair
16	Sunday	Shut			85	85	86			96			2 1	Shut	14 8	N. W.	Fair
17				84			Shut		Shut							W.	Cloudy
18				84		86				96			2 1		14 8	N. W.	Fair
19	153			84		83				26			2 0		14 9	S. W.	Cold
20	153			84		85				95			2 1		14 8	N. E.	Rain
21	152			84	85	85				95			2 1		14 8	N. E.	Cloudy
22	151			84	84	85				95			2 1		14 7	N. W.	Fair
23	Sunday			Shut		85				95			2 1		14 6	S. W.	Fair
24																S. W.	Cloudy
25	151				84	85				95			2 1		14 6	S. W.	Cloudy
26	151				84	15				95			2 1		14 5	S. W.	Cloudy

CHARLES CORBETT, at No. 39, facing St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-Street, Stock-Broker, who buys and sells in the Stocks by Commission, and transacts the Lottery Business as usual.

Mark-Land Exchange	Reading	Basingstoke.	Farnham.	Henley	Cambridge.	York.	Gloucester.	Hereford.	Manmouth.	London.
Wheat 28s. od. to 2 1/2s.	91. to 101. o	71. od to 81.	81. os. to 101.	101 os load	178 to 19 gr.	148 to 15 qu	58 06d bushel	58 6d bushel	58 bush.	108 1/2 Hay per load 27s. to 30s.

T H E LONDON MAGAZINE:

For J U N E, 1770.

DEBATES OF A POLITICAL CLUB.



NOTWITHSTAND-
ING the violence of
party feuds during the
late session, it must
nevertheless give infi-
nite satisfaction to the
true well-wishers of
their country, that some acts have
taken place highly beneficial to the
constitution, highly consonant to the
principles of justice, and highly ho-
nourable for the character of parlia-
ment; the chief of these are the regu-
lation of contested elections, and the
abrogation of privilege in cases of debt
to the domestics both of peers and
commoners; two laws as conducive to
our public prosperity, as any perhaps
instituted since the revolution; the bill
for the first of these, according to a
former intimation, was moved for, on
the 17th of March, by Valerius Vigil,
who thus supported the propriety of
this motion:

Mr. President, sir,

I Took occasion some time ago
to throw out my sentiments in this
assembly, on the present very defec-
tive manner of terminating contested
elections, which chiefly proceeds from
the extraordinary number of judges,
and the general countenance which
private friendship, or party connexion
receives from the members of this house
in opposition to the principles of equity.
There is not a judicature in the world,
so numerous as this, and the instan-
ces of partiality are not only so frequent
in cases of electional dispute, but the
time of partiality is divided, as gen-
tlemen imagine, into so many shares,
that while they are encouraged by the
force of example to oppose the sense of
their conviction, they look upon their
justice to be diminished in propor-
tion to their numbers, and each at

last supposes his part of the guilt ex-
ceedingly inconsiderable.

For my part, however, Mr. Presi-
dent, I look upon the decision of a
contested election, as an affair of the
utmost importance; where the privi-
leges, the birth-rights of the people
are immediately at stake, it behoves
every good subject to be cautious, and
as in murder accessaries by the voice
of law are pronounced principals, I
hold all to be principals who wreak a
parricide upon the constitution.

From the excessive number of judges
in this court, sir, upon cases of con-
tested election, from the tediousness of
many cases, and from the discretion-
ary power of gentlemen, neither upon
their oath, nor their honour, to de-
cide as they are prompted by the bias
of a secret inclination, we have for a
long time beheld the suffrages of the
people wantonly sported with, not
only by ministers, but by the avowed
defenders of public liberty—that the
present mode of trial is not warranted
by the antient usage of parliament, is
well known to every member conver-
sant with our history; for even at so
recent a period as the revolution, try-
ers were particularly appointed to de-
termine on the merit of petitions; and
these tryers generally consisted of the
most illustrious personages in the upper
house of parliament; but gradually, to
give their decisions a greater air of so-
lemnity, the whole house attended,
though the tryers were usually guided
in their opinion by the law lords. In
this house committees were constantly
chosen to examine into elections; and
in 1672, the chancellor, having claim-
ed the right of determining contested
elections, the commons ordered a
committee of two hundred for that pur-
pose, and resolved that all who attend-

ed this committee should have voices —The establishment of committees has continued ever since; but during the late Mr. Onslow's presidency in this assembly, the admirable order with which he conducted business, as well as some irregularities which took place in the committees, induced such as wished for a candid trial to be heard at the bar of the house.

In the bill, Mr. President, which I shall move to bring in, for the removal of the grievance here submitted to your consideration, I shall as much as possible regulate my idea by the constitutional idea of juries—I shall move that when a petition comes before us, a day may be set apart for enquiring into the merits; that both parties shall have their witnesses ready against this day—and that on the appointed time, one hundred members at least being present, their names shall be written on small pieces of paper, rolled up, and deposited in six urns; when this is done, I propose that an officer, the clerk for example, shall alternately draw a name from each urn to the number of twenty-five, as a jury to try the cause; after these twenty-five names are drawn, the petitioner, and the fitting member shall each strike six from the number, and the remaining thirteen, with the addition of one, at the discretionary nomination of each party, in the whole fifteen, shall take an oath similar to the juryman's, examine witnesses upon oath, proceed within twenty-four hours to the determination of the case, and their determination shall be totally final, unless any doubt occurs about the rights of the constituents; if that should happen they must refer the matter to the opinion of the house; and to secure the attendance of one hundred members on the day set apart for electional decisions, I shall expressly provide that all other business may be postponed till the necessary number is convened for this particular purpose.

Besides these provisions, Mr. President, it will be proper to provide that no member above the age of sixty shall be liable to be drawn; that no member who is drawn upon one trial shall be compelled to serve on another; that the cause shall be publicly heard, but privately determined; that sheriffs or witnesses prevaricating, be amenable to the jurisdiction of this house, and

if guilty of perjury be prosecuted by the common law—if one of the parliamentary jurors should fall sick, the trial may nevertheless continue while there are thirteen remaining to attend it; if any shall absent himself, he is to be punished by the house; the chairman is to be chosen by a majority of voices, and a majority of voices also is to determine between the fitting member and the petitioner.

Such, Mr. President, is the outline of the bill by which I mean to remove the numberless evils resulting not only to the parties, but the community, in the present mode of deciding upon electional contests; to the good sense of the house I now submit my sentiments, and have only to move for leave to bring in a bill for regulating the *Proceedings of this House on controverted Elections*.

These are the chief heads of this salutary bill which has since been passed into a law; little or no opposition was made to it; yet though it was not productive of any debate, the evident utility of the measure makes it a matter of considerable importance, and on that account extremely necessary for the perusal of our readers.

We shall now proceed to speak of Ireland in its turn, as far as we find the affairs of that country forming a part in the Debates of our Political Club, and come to the celebrated motion of Hortensius Hibernicus (the hon. B. W.) on the third of May, relative to the prorogation of a great assembly in neighbouring kingdom.

Mr. President, sir,

AS it is the duty of this assembly, no less than it is the interest of the British empire, to keep a watchful eye on the proceedings of government even in the most distant provinces under our dominion, it cannot be improper in the present deplorable situation of Ireland, to animadvert upon the conduct of the ministry, to examine the sources of the universal discontent which now unhappily prevails through our sister kingdom, and renders administration as detestable to the people of that country, as they are despicable to the inhabitants of this.

It is notoriously known, Mr. President, however Ireland may be excused by the inconsiderate, or misrepresented by the malevolent, there is no part of the British territory

1770.

more eminent for its loyalty, or more conspicuous for its affection to the crown of these realms; injustice after injustice, tyranny after tyranny has been peaceably put up with from sentiments of attachment, from sentiments of veneration for the people of Great Britain, and suffered, even in the dawnings of prosperity, her little treasures to be torn from her, contrary to every idea of constitutional law, because she imagined the violence might be beneficial to England.

The merit of the Irish nation, Mr. President, was not however confined to the toleration of oppression in the ministers of this country, but to a fearful acquiescence under it; it was not from a want of spirit, or a want of understanding, from a want of courage to relent, or of intelligence to perceive the injuries offered them, that the inhabitants of that kingdom quietly endured the despotism of an English administration—No sir—their incapacity is universally known, their corruption is universally acknowledged; and while we behold them with pity, we cannot but consider them with admiration.

To justify the truth of what I have now advanced, suffer me to remark, Mr. President, that if the Irish were naturally attached to this country they have had of late sufficient encouragement to oppose the inroads of British ministers upon their property, and to contend at least for a concurrence in the distribution of their money—They have seen the Americans, sir, a people much younger, and much more obliged, do this with the most success; they have seen British acts of parliament instituted for the express purpose of raising a revenue in the colonies, not only disobeyed, but they have seen our statesmen tremulously solicitous for a repeal of these, and beheld them entering into the most dastardly concessions, to purchase a peace from America—Yet though they have seen all this, they have neither denied our authority, nor opposed the execution of our ordinances; they have even without an act of parliament submitted to the annual payment of almost 100,000*l.* in pensions, and moment government condemned to apply for any new grants, they considered upon the proper

mode of compliance, and manifested a pleasure in assisting even the notorious prodigality of government.

Having constantly acted in this affectionate manner to Great Britain, Mr. President, it might be naturally expected, that their generosity would have shamed our ministers into some little degree of kindness and consideration—But kindness and consideration do not seem the characteristics of our present ministers—For, sir, though they lately received a large supply from the Irish parliament for the purposes of a military augmentation in that kingdom—though they requested this supply in a time of profound peace, and thought it perfectly constitutional to receive it from the representatives of the people; the money was no sooner received, than they denied the right of the commons to grant it, and insisted that power of originating money-bills belonged entirely to the privy council—However, sir, to argue with them on their own principles, the government surely had not a right to take the money from parliament, if parliament had not a right to give it; and they should either refuse the supply, or acquiesce in the legality of the grant—The more we consider the conduct of administration in this respect, sir, the more we shall find it perplexed, inconsistent, and tyrannical—the Lord Lieutenant having obtained the money, returns thanks to the *two houses* for their liberality, and after he has politely complimented their munificence, he enters a protest upon the journals of the lords, and sensibly informs the whole world that they were not authorized to exert it—What is this, sir, but adding insult to oppression, but laughing at the idea of all order, and smiling while they stab the essence of all liberty to the heart?

The consequences of this proceeding were such, sir, as might be expected; a generous, a spirited people could not bear to be reproached with their very virtues, they therefore prepared to make a vigorous effort in defence of their constitutional rights, but the chief governor took speedy care to prevent the possibility of parliamentary expostulation, by proroguing both houses to a distant day, and branding them with a public stigma for comply-

ing

ing with the wishes of government--- Indeed a compliance with the wishes of *such* a government might in the eyes of reasonable men seem to merit some mark of the grossest obloquy---The Irish, however, are more sinned *against*, than *sinning*; the concessions they made to administration were in fact so many proofs of their regard for this kingdom, and they would have long since shewn a just resentment against the ministry, had they not been apprehensive that such a measure might be conceived a diminution in their attachment to the people of England.

What the Irish have declined doing from this generous principle, now becomes our duty to perform; the state of that nation is deplorable beyond belief, and since the unexampled prorogation of its parliament, which contributed so liberally to the necessities of government, several temporary laws have expired; particularly the act for assigning judgements, by which only, the Roman catholics could obtain landed security for their money: the tax upon hawkers and pedlars, which was devoted to the maintenance of the incorporated society for building protestant charter-schools, has also ceased; and a sum of near 300cl. allowed for public works of immediate utility, in consequence of the prorogation, remains unappropriated in the treasury---Besides these, Mr. President, many salutary acts relative to the late insurrections, and the tillage of the kingdom have expired, so that without the intervention, the speedy intervention of this assembly, there is no saying where the distresses of our Irish fellow-subjects may end---I therefore move that the instructions by which Lord T----- prorogued the parliament of Ireland may be laid before us, and I flatter myself every lover of justice, every friend to both kingdoms will concur in the expediency of this motion.

The motion being regularly seconded, Valerius Vigil delivered his sentiments to the following purport:

Mr. President, sir,

I Am so perfectly satisfied with the expediency of the motion at present before the chair, that I shall even exceed it, by moving for all the papers relative to the Irish augmentation bill---the affairs of that kingdom are not only in the utmost disorder, but the

laws of Great Britain have in my opinion been violated to deceive our fellow-subjects of the neighbouring nation out of their property---I will not now, sir, dwell upon the absurdity of a system which, in times of profound peace, can think of encreasing military expences, nor will I dwell upon the patriotism of ministers, who are studious to encrease the number of our forces at a period in which every dispassionate mind must see the propriety of a reduction---What I shall chiefly adhere to, Mr. President, is the *manner*, in which the augmentation was gained from the Irish parliament; the inducements which led the people of that kingdom to comply with this preposterous requisition of government---and if in the course of the little I offer, anything should appear to furnish a just ground for believing that the dignity of this nation has been sacrificed to plunder the inhabitants of Ireland, I hope our love of justice, as well as the regard which we should ever entertain for our own honour, will lead us into some spirited enquiries, and make a proper example of the sacrificer however dignified by office, and supported by connexion.

If, sir, the message as printed in all the public papers, and said to be the charge---of Ireland's message to the Irish parliament, is not a scandalous forgery, and if the promise asserted to be the king's promise to that parliament also, be not a daring imposition, both the message and the promise are repugnant to the spirit of two English laws, the act of the last sessions having repealed the 10th of King William and the 13th of Charles II. particularly vesting the disposition of all the land and sea-forces in the crown---Now, sir, if a promise has been given to the people of Ireland, that 12,000 men shall be constantly stationed among them, I apprehend that the prerogative of the crown is given up; I apprehend that the obvious meaning of the two laws I have alluded to is defeated, and that the disposal of the 12,000 troops is not virtually in the sovereign, but actually in the Irish parliament.

This, sir, is to me a matter of much importance; I would not have the royal prerogative diminished for the purpose of artifice; nor would I have an English act of parliament defeated

in its design, for the shameful end of deluding the Irish fellow-subject into a supply. For these reasons I move, that the papers relative to the augmentation bill may also be laid before us; and I trust the honourable gentleman, who made the last motion, will rather think I assist, than counteract his benevolent intention.

To this speech Mutius Scævola replied:

Mr. President, sir,

IT is not a little surprising, when gentlemen are so anxious about the welfare of their country, that they will not remember in some measure the nature of its laws; but it is still more surprizing, that the very measures which are taken for maintaining the authority of this kingdom, are pointed out as a degradation of its honour, and a sacrifice of the royal prerogative.

Sir, though I shall never contend for giving Great Britain a wanton, an arbitrary power over any part of her dominions, and though I shall always contend for an English subject's possessing the privileges of an Englishman, in whatever part of our empire he may happen to be placed—still I must argue for the propriety, the necessity of placing a controuling power in some place; the vast body of the British territories *must* have a head; and surely such a superiority for the common good of all, cannot be more easily allowed than in our hands. We are the most immediately affected by any general misfortune, and consequently must be most solicitous for the general happiness; in point of antiquity, numbers, and opulence, we have a just title to pre-eminence, and as the parent state, it is more natural to the various dependencies which we have protected for so long a series of years, to obey our laws than to think of dictating to their protectors. On this account, Mr. President, I am bold enough to stand forth an advocate for the prorogation of the Irish parliament. I am bold enough to say, that the prorogation was unavoidable, and that the minister would highly merit an impeachment, if he had not considered the expediency of such a measure. Gentlemen may declaim in general terms very pompously, and paint very pathetic pictures of na-

tional calamities. They are supported by the temper of the times, and people without doors consider every man as a patriot, who tells them they are on the brink of destruction.—

However, sir, give me leave to say, that what may be mighty fine in oratory, may be utterly false in fact; and give me also leave to say, that a single truth in a parliamentary debate, is a matter of more real importance, than the thunders of a Demosthenes, or the melliflence of a Cicero.

The distresses of the Irish nation, Mr. President, have been painted in most melancholy colours, by the honourable gentleman who made the first motion, and they would really deserve our serious consideration, if it was not for one unfortunate circumstance, which is, that his picture is totally a child of the imagination. To prove this, let us only enquire into the present state of Ireland; is its trade upon the decline, is the landed property decreasing in its value, or are the people becoming poor? Alas, sir, nothing like it. The trade of our sister nation never flourished so much; the value of landed property is hourly increasing, and so far are the people from being impoverished, that, if we except some places very remote from the metropolis, where laziness is attended with its never-failing companion, wretchedness, all is a continual scene of abundance and festivity.

So much for the poverty of Ireland. With regard to the augmentation of our forces in times of profound peace, it surprizes me exceedingly that the gentlemen in opposition to government never maintain any consistency of conduct. The principal argument which they have used, during the present session, has been the alarming situation of the kingdom—They have told us that we were distracted at home, defied in our colonies, and that some of our formidable neighbours were actually meditating a blow that must instantly give birth to a new war. This has been the chief purport of their language, I repeat, through the present session, Mr. President, and one of their most distinguished leaders has pledged himself to the public, on the reality of hostile intentions in the court of Madrid. Yet, sir, when their own accounts of domestic strife and

and foreign invasion have induced government to augment the national strength—the gloom is instantly dispelled; the whole horizon becomes unexpectedly serene, and the ministry are abused for incurring fresh military expences in an hour of the profoundest tranquillity.

The right honourable gentleman who spoke last, sir, and who expressed so patriotic an apprehension, that the laws of this kingdom were violated in the promise given to the Irish parliament, that 12000 men should be constantly stationed in that kingdom, is so usually accurate, that I wonder he could, upon the question before us, run into absolute contradiction. He says, sir, that by the laws of England, the sole disposition of the land and sea forces belongs to the crown, *therefore*, the promise of continuing 12000 men constantly in Ireland, is giving up the royal prerogative. That is in plain English, the *exercise* of the royal prerogative, is to *relinquish* the royal prerogative; and the *disposal* of troops at the discretion of the crown, is to *wrest* the disposition from its hands. To be serious, sir, the crown has the right of disposing the land and sea force as it pleases; the crown therefore stations 12000 men constantly in Ireland, agreeable to this right; and the actual execution of the English laws, is now said to be repugnant to two English acts of parliament.

Having thus answered the arguments of distress, of inexpediency, and illegality, urged against the augmentation, I now come to the main question which our patriots ask of government, "Why would you prorogue the Irish parliament, which had so liberally administered to your necessities?" That the Irish parliament is a truly illustrious assembly I am proud to declare, and that the Irish nation merits highly the good opinion of their sovereign, I am as ready to acknowledge; but the reason of the parliamentary prorogation, was the solicitude of the very ministers now reviled, to preserve the dependance of Ireland upon this kingdom. The Irish house of Commons entered into resolutions contrary to Poyning's law, into resolutions which consequently

shook the foundation of our authority over Ireland, and therefore the parliament was prorogued: as to the manner of the prorogation, it was warranted no less by precedent, than justified by reason, and I affirm, that any loss resulting to the incorporated society from the measure, shall be made good from the privy purse.

I have now answered all the arguments in favour of the present motion, Mr. President, and shall only add, that those gentlemen who feel so much for Ireland, would do well to feel a little for England too; and as it would be criminal to violate the laws of this country, to seize the property of that, I hope the opposition will not look upon the enforcement of an established act to be unjust, which consults their mutual preservation.

[To be continued.]

To the PRINTER of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

S I R,

THE present low price of the stocks may be made an advantage to the public, by the following, or some similar scheme. Suppose an offer should be made by proper authority to the possessors of 3 per cent. annuities; that such of them who choose it, might turn one half of their property into an annuity of 3 per cent. for each hundred pounds stock, in one moiety of what they possess in the stock, or of the sum they chuse to subscribe; this annuity to commence from the quarter day preceding the subscription, and to last for seventy years, then to cease and determine. The other half of their stock to be paid off in six months after their subscribing. The 3 per cent. annuities are at this time fourteen per cent. below par, consequently a profit of fourteen pounds for each hundred paid off; consequently an evident advantage to the person, who having ten hundred pounds stock shall chuse to subscribe, and thereby receive ten hundred immediately; because fourteen pounds in ready money is more than the worth of an hundred pounds to be received seventy years hence.

I am, sir,

Berkshire, Your humble servant,
June 25, 1770.

A genuine Account of the Life of Archbishop Potter.

DR. John Potter, archbishop of Canterbury, was son of Mr. Thomas Potter, a linen-draper, at Wakefield in Yorkshire, where he was born 1674; and being put to school at the same place, he made an uncommon progress in a short time, especially in the Greek language. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Oxford, and entered a bachelor of University college in the beginning of 1688; where having taken the degree of bachelor of arts, he published * in 8vo, for the use of young students in the university, his *Variantes Sectiones*. This book came out 1693, and the following year our author was chosen fellow of Lincoln college, and proceeding Master of Arts 16 Oct. 1694, he took pupils, and went into orders. These engagements were looked upon as additional motives to prosecute his studies, the fruits of which appeared 1697, when the press produced his beautiful edition of Lycophron's *Alexandra* in folio; the same year he likewise printed the first volume of his *Archæologia Græcæ*, or the *Antiquities of Greece*, which was followed by the second volume the subsequent year. These works established his fame in the literary republic both at home, and abroad, and engaged him in a correspondence with some learned foreigners. July 8, 1704, he commenced bachelor of divinity, and being about the same time appointed chaplain to Archbishop Jennison, he removed from Oxford to reside with his grace at Lambeth. On the 18th of April, 1706, he proceeded to the degree of doctor in divinity, and soon after became chaplain in ordinary to her majesty Queen Anne. In 1707 he published in 8vo, a discourse of Church Government, and the beginning of the next year, he succeeded Dr. Jane, as regius professor of divinity, and canon of Christ church Oxford, which brought him back to the university; this post was obtained the queen for him by the particular application of the illustrious duke of Marlborough, which however was pro-

cured with some difficulty, as the Tory interest began to prevail, and the queen's inclinations leading her to favour that party. Yet she yielded to the repeated solicitations of that great man. Thus seated in the professorship, his qualifications, both as a scholar and a divine, were incontestible, and his good sense would not permit him to countenance those high-flown sentiments which, towards the end of that reign, were the road to preferment, during the administration of Harley and Bolingbroke. Therefore we need not wonder that at the accession of his Majesty King George, he should succeed Dr. W. Talbot, in the see of Oxford, 27th of April 1715. He still kept possession of the divinity chair in the university, and in reality he filled both dignities with great reputation, rarely failing to preside in person over the divinity disputations in the schools, and regularly holding his triennial visitation at St. Mary's church, upon which occasion his charges to the clergy were suited to the exigency of the times. In 1717, Dr. Hoadley, then bishop of Bangor, having advanced some doctrines about sincerity, in print, which our prelate judged to be destructive of true religion, he took occasion in his first visitation the following year, to censure and warn his clergy against them. This charge being printed at the request of the audience, was warmly resented by Dr. Hoadley; and tho' neither his name, nor the title of his book, was mentioned in it, yet he took the rebuke to himself, and presently published an answer to it, to which Dr. Potter replied. Some time after this controversy, he grew into great favour with Queen Caroline, (then princess of Wales) and upon the accession of his Majesty George II. to the throne, he preached the coronation sermon, the 11th of October 1727. which was afterwards printed by his majesty's command, and it was generally thought, that the chief direction of ecclesiastical affairs was designed to be committed to his care; but as this trust must unavoidably involve him in state affairs, he declined the proposal, and returned to his bishoprick, where

* This book was printed at the theatre in Oxford, at the charge of Arthur Charlett D. master of University college, who presented copies of it, as a new year's gift, to the young students of his house, and others of his friends.

he continued in the strict discharge of the duties of the pastoral office, till the death of Dr. William Wake in January 1737, in whose room he was promoted to be archbishop of Canterbury: this arduous, and important post he filled during the space of ten years, with great reputation, wholly attentive to the devoirs of his ecclesiastical function, without engaging too busily in the secular affairs incident to that high office. Thus employed he fell into a lingering disorder, which put a period to his life, October 1747, aged 73—buried in Croydon church. He left behind him the character of a prelate of distinguished piety and learning, strictly orthodox in respect to the established doctrines of the church of England. He was remarkably studious of regularity, order, and economy, and in that spirit, not unmindful to support the metropolitical dignity by a suitable carriage, which was sometimes censured as proceeding from a spirit of pride and haughtiness, particularly that he could bear the kneeling of bishops before him, when at a solemn meeting of the members of the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, he gave the benediction. His grace engaged in marriage, not long after he obtained the divinity chair at Oxford, and had a numerous offspring, and was survived by three daughters and two sons, of whom the eldest, John Potter, taking orders, was presented to the rectory of Wrotham, and vicarage of Lydd, both in Kent, by his father, who likewise gave him a handsome portion, but being offended with his conduct in marrying indiscreetly, he conferred the bulk of his fortune upon his youngest son Thomas Potter, Esq; having before given him the lucrative post of register to the province of Canterbury. This gentleman was bred to the law, and turning his thoughts to state affairs, and obtaining a seat in the House of Commons, made himself soon conspicuous, and became recorder of Bath, joint vice-treasurer of Ireland, and member for Oakhampton. He died the 17th of June, 1759. His brother is now dean of Canterbury, to which dignity he was promoted in January 1767, on

the death of Dr. Friend. What issue the late Thomas Potter, Esq; left, or the dean has, would be highly agreeable to inform the public, could the information be obtained.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

S I R,

As a sincere friend and well-wisher to the interests of literature, it is with great pleasure I have lately seen able writers giving repeated expositions of the PARTIALITY and IGNORANCE of the MONTHLY REVIEWERS. As a christian, I have read with great satisfaction (in your Magazine) a refutation of their INFIDEL principles; tho' I cannot forbear to lament that the ingenious writer should at the same time condemn a work * written in defence of the doctrines of scripture of which he had seen nothing more than a few passages mutilated by the *Monthly Reviewers*. Surely their reiterated attacks must effectually destroy their authority, if their opinion ever had weight with any but wit coffee house orators, and country booksellers. The design of my writing to you at present, is to throw my mite for the same useful purpose and at the same time to vindicate the reputation of a very able writer and of a very respectable character. A pamphlet intituled "A Defence of the Proceedings of the House of Commons in the Middlesex Election" made its appearance sometime since, which the *Monthly Reviewers* have by implication attributed to Dr. Blackstone. Whether the printer of that performance led them into this mistake to quicken the sale of a very heavy pamphlet, I know not; but that it was not written by Dr. Blackstone I can assure you and that it is totally unworthy of him I shall shew presently. However in consequence of this supposition, the *Reviewers* highly commended it, calling it a masterly performance, &c. being either sensible that Dr. Blackstone's character as a writer was well established for them to attack or being desirous perhaps of making some atonement for the pert and impudent attack which was lately made

* "Explanations of some difficult Texts of Scripture in Four Dissertations. See also by the same Author "A Letter to the Authors of the Monthly Reviewer."—Printed for Flexney.

on his commentaries by their friend Dr. Priestly. Whatever was the *motif* which induced them to bestow their encomiums upon this pamphlet, their *simplicity* is equally conspicuous, in treating this dull and (if I may be allowed the expression) *unperspicuous* composition as the work of so clear a writer and accurate reasoner as Dr. Blackstone.

The very first paragraph of the defence, &c. affords a remarkable proof of the justice of the character I have given the work. For all (I apprehend) he means to observe in that paragraph, is, that parties are only likely to tend to the preservation of liberty, when they arise from a regard to the public interest. But to convey this plain truth, he leads his readers into such a maze of words, that it is with the utmost difficulty they can discover what he means. And when, by a laborious attention to the whole paragraph, they have found (if he had any meaning at all) it must be that which I have assigned, they at last find words inconsistent with it. For (says he) "Parties are then only *inseparable* from a free constitution, and necessary to the existence of liberty, when they grow out of *constitutional principles*, pursue *constitutional objects*, and by *constitutional means*." But according to this observation, it is impossible any two parties should ever exist. For if one of them pursue *constitutional objects*, those who pursue *different objects* cannot pursue *constitutional* ones, but must be mistaken in supposing those to be *constitutional objects*, which are really *unconstitutional*.

The same writer, after quoting a passage from what he himself allows to be an ingenious and spirited discourse, tells us "that he refers his readers to the work itself for those limitations, in which the author has qualified his admission of the several parliamentary powers, and that he must own indeed he does not perfectly understand him." But surely, justice to the writer he had required this author to confess, whether this want of understanding was the consequence of his own incapacity for subjects of this kind, or whether it arose from a defect in the understanding of the writer, whom he with the rest of the world allows to be *ingenious*. If the latter was the insinuation meant to convey, it is impos-

sible to reconcile the concession, "that a discourse is ingenious," with the writer's having *no clear* ideas of the *fundamental* points in dispute. If he meant the former, how came he to think of writing upon a subject the principles of which he *confesses* he does not perfectly understand? To use therefore his own beautiful expression, "he is *bitched* in between the horns of a dilemma without a possibility of escaping."

He tells us, that "there is not in the whole science of politics, a more, SIMPLE, CLEAR, and indubitable principle, than that the binding power of any law is ONE SINGLE, INVARIABLE, and INDIVISIBLE POWER." That this principle is SIMPLE, I find all agree, but I never could find any one yet who could deem it to be CLEAR.

Another of his general principles is, that every law derives its authority or binding FORCE from a POWER actually existing at the time, and exerting its ENERGY, at every instant in which such a law is in FORCE. Which is as clear and judicious as if he had said, Every law derives its binding POWER from a POWER actually existing at the time, and exerting its POWER in every instant in which such law has POWER. This is indeed, to use another of his expressions, "dazzling the eyes of his readers with a parade of language either *absolutely unintelligible* or *perfect nonsense*." Though but for this accurate writer, I should have conceived, that expressions which are *absolutely unintelligible* are *perfect nonsense*. But with a view to explain the above curious position, he dazzles us still further, by telling us, "that the last breath of an old parliament, and the first of a new one are, politically speaking, the very same breath." As well might he tell us, that one thought, which is *absurd* and *nonsensical*, is the same as another thought, which is *sensible* and *ingenious*.

He says further, "that the binding power of all laws is derived from one cause only, the legislator's AUTHORITY to enact and enforce them." His conclusion therefore from this position is, "that the decisions of parliament do not derive any more authority from the laws of REASON and JUSTICE than the decisions of any other judicature, that is, they do not derive such authority at all from them."

What a *first rate* writer is the author of such an assertion on laws and government! what a *capital* defender of civil liberty is one who tells us, that every subject is bound to obey *every* act of his legislature, however UNREASONABLE, however UNJUST, and consequently however IRRELIGIOUS it may be! And what *sagacious critics*, what *admirable politicians*, or *attentive readers* are the MONTHLY REVIEWERS, who bestow the highest encomiums upon *such* a writer, and do the injustice to a *very eminent* one, as to attribute such sentiments to him! To one who has on the contrary expressly declared in his elegant commentaries "that no human laws are of ANY VALIDITY, if *contrary* to the LAW OF NATURE; and such of them as ARE VALID, derive ALL THEIR FORCE and ALL THEIR AUTHORITY, MEDIATELY OR IMMEDIATELY, FROM THIS ORIGINAL."

If the administration of this kingdom is to be directed by laws founded on *such* maxims of government as "the author of the defence" has adopted, miserable must soon be the condition of its subjects. And if the reputation of writers is to depend upon the dictates of *such* critics as the *Monthly Reviewers*, every effort of *genius* will soon be suppressed.

As, sir, I esteem your Magazine upon the whole much the most useful monthly publication, I intend occasionally in *that* to vindicate the valuable works of those learned and ingenious writers such *pseudo-critics* condemn, and to expose to just censure the *inane* productions of those *half-thinking* authors they commend.

I am, yours, &c.

ARISTARCHUS.

An Examination of the Monthly Reviewers' Criticism on a Letter addressed to them in Defence of the Dissertations on difficult Texts of Scripture. Continued from p. 259.

THE Reviewers in their criticism on the *Dissertations* wanted to be instructed, whether revelation contains words of a doubtful import? To shew this, they say, the Letter-writer shrewdly asks, "if the Reviewers would have the words of revelation contain a meaning contrary to rea-

son?" Here again these gentlemen, an excuse for not answering the Dissertator's solution, boldly assert a falsehood. For though he does indeed ask this question, he does not ask for the reason they assign, but expressly shews why a revelation must contain words of "doubtful import," such as will convey different senses according to the different degrees of attention, learning and understanding with which they are examined. See the letter from p. 22 to 26. Can any one for the future pay any regard to the assertions of Monthly Reviewers?

In answer to an interrogation of the Letter-writer's, "How a writer could prove a doctrine to be plainly revealed without attempting it?" *They say *no*, "but insist that what is plain neither *requires* nor *admits* of *proof*, which is the deduction of somewhat that is *not* plain, from somewhat that is. Admirably sagacious indeed! Change but the word *is* to *was* in the foregoing sentence, as it ought to be, and they prove the truth of the Letter-writer's position by the very argument they bring to disprove it: for proof is that by which a truth which *was not before* plain, is made plain by deducing it from what *was before* plain. "That Abraham begat Isaac they say, is plainly revealed in scripture: but does the proposition, that Abraham begat Isaac is plainly revealed in scripture, admit or require proof?" Suppose it does not; does it then follow, that *nothing* can be *proved* to be *plainly* revealed in scripture? No wonder the Reviewers are desirous to persuade the world that reason is not necessary for the understanding of scripture; as, if this were once admitted, they would then have a chance of being thought to understand it as well as the *Dissertator* or any other person.

The next paragraph is indeed *undoubtedly witty*. But as it may be useful to the Reviewers on many other occasions, when they are at a loss for an argument, I will not be so cruel as to deprive them of such a resource. The witticism indeed, like Mr. Bay's, is not altogether *new*: being borrowed from those very witty and ingenious entertainments, called *pantomimes*, paying the Letter-writer the compliment of supposing him to perform the

* See letter, p. 26. to 29.

part of harlequin, and admirably sharing the character of the CLOWN among themselves.

They next inform us, "that the Letter-writer, being embarrassed by their objections, asserts, "that the institution of eternal punishments was made necessary to prevent mankind from being eternally punished." What! say they, was eternal misery made necessary to prevent eternal misery? did Prince Prettyman kill Prince Prettyman? * If it be a proof of wisdom to have a regard to truth, I am sure the foregoing sentence is no proof of the Reviewers' wisdom: for it is incompatible with truth; if they mean by the word *institution* any thing but promulgation. The letter-writer has said only, as the Dissertator does, that the promulgation of eternal punishments is necessary to deter men from committing crimes, and suffering the punishment promulged. And is not the promulgation of a temporal punishment necessary for the same reason?

But they want to know if the promulgation of eternal punishments was necessary to induce men to fulfil the conditions of eternal happiness? and if no christian can be supposed to be ignorant of this, what need of any other proof? and of what use is the author's defence of them on principles that are entirely new, the fruits of his investigation?—If this be sufficient in the opinion of the Reviewers, reconciling the doctrine of eternal punishments with the attributes of God; I dare to say, the Letter-writer will think himself very happy in having converted them. But he has shown that this argument only proves they are reconcileable with the goodness of God, by shewing they tend to a GOOD END: and the author's new principles are applied to prove the goodness of GOD, by shewing that the promulgation of eternal punishments are proper means to that end. † Which would the Reviewers have it proved?—that they undertook to answer the letter without reading it; or that they did read it, but chose to

misrepresent it? Let the Reviewers own which they please.

They next observe "that the author makes the new covenant a covenant of works; and therefore, that the anathemas which he pronounces against the Reviewers for appearing to dissent in some particulars from the doctrine of the church of England as established by law, are unmerited, or recoil upon himself."—The Letter-writer never found fault with the Reviewers for dissenting, but for their want of candour to those writers who *do not* dissent from the articles of the church of England.

The Reviewers next pretend to make a wonderful discovery, that the Dissertator and Letter-writer are the same person. I hope they will likewise pretend to the discovery that the Examiner and the Letter-writer are the same person: for thence it will follow, that the Dissertator and Examiner are the same. And they may equally as well prove the latter position, by the arguments they make use of, as the former. For they say that the *Dissertator* and the Letter-writer must be the same person; as no one but the former would speak of the Dissertations as the Letter-writer has done: because he says, in every one of them is proposed either *new* interpretations of scripture, or old ones are supported with *new* arguments. Yet not only the *Critical Reviewers* have said the same in effect; but the *Monthly Reviewers* themselves have objected to the Dissertations upon that very supposition. ‡—"Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit (say the Monthly Reviewers, speaking of the Letter-writer) there is *more hope* of a FOOL than of him."—How needful it is for men to attend to consistency of sentiment! For want of this, we see by the foregoing observation, that the Monthly Reviewers now acknowledge the Letter-writer to be no fool, whom they before declared to be one; and therefore from their own assertion in the first paragraph it follows that they themselves are f—ls.

Why might not Prince Prettyman kill Prince Prettyman, as well as Monthly Reviewers refute Monthly Reviewers?

See Letter from p. 41 to 48.

See their learned, ingenious, candid, and elaborate Review for August 1769.

Whether some friend of the Dissertator did not write the criticism itself to make it more known?

In their next paragraph I do not know which is most conspicuous, their modesty in being ashamed of being convicted of infidelity, their effrontery in denying that they were guilty of it, or their prudence in not quoting the passages in which it is proved upon them. For they say, "their criticism on the *Dissertations* did not oppose revelation, but only the Dissertator's account of it." This is so glaring an untruth as must make their christian admirers blush for the flagrancy of the falsehood, and their infidel ones despise the meanness of the subterfuge: as the former unanimously lamented the evident marks of infidelity which were betrayed in that criticism; and the latter rejoiced to see so open an avowal of their favourite principles.

They would endeavour to represent it as one of the Dissertator's notions of christianity, "that it was intended to make only critics and philosophers wise to salvation."—"He supposes (say they) just the contrary of what Jesus has affirmed, that it was intended for the *wise and prudent*, not for the *unlearned and simple*."—But neither the Dissertator, nor any other writer that I know of, have thus represented christianity. And happy is it for the Reviewers that such is not its nature: for then it would be impossible for the Reviewers (even when they be converted to the belief of christianity) to become wise unto salvation.

Such are the evasive answers, false insinuations, glaring contradictions, evident misrepresentations, and manifest falsehoods in their criticism upon some few parts of the letter. The letter contains sixty-five pages, all tending to expose either their want of ingenuity and candour, or their disbelief of christianity: and they have only taken notice of eight or nine sentences at most. Eight of these the least materially affect their characters of any in the whole letter. For this omission they endeavour to apologize by saying, "that it would ill become them to follow the Letter-writer thro' all his zigzags."—If they mean, it would ill become them to follow him through the whole as they have done through a small part, the world will readily admit it: but it is a pity they did not make this excuse for not med-

dling with it at all. Such a confession would, from its candour, have atoned for their inferiority in argument. Whereas, by their manner of answering the Letter-writer, they not only tacitly confess their dread of his superior abilities, but forfeit every claim to regard. Their own answer being the strongest confirmation that could have been given of the truth of the Letter-writer's impeachment of them for *inconsistency, ignorance, misrepresentation, and infidelity*.

Essay on the Name JEHOVAH.

WHEN Moses entered upon his divine legation, and he and Aaron went first in unto Pharaoh, the message was, "Thus saith JEHOVAH the God of Israel, let my people go, that they may hold a festival to me in the wilderness;" and Pharaoh said, "who is Jehovah, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not Jehovah: neither will I let Israel go." He had never before heard the name of such a God as Jehovah, and therefore enquired who he was. They answer, the God of the Hebrews. By which answer they describe him only as a gentilitical deity, and we need not wonder that the king at the first delivery of this message thought the gods of his own country to be superior, or at least equal, to the God of his slaves.

After the ten severe inflictions upon Egypt, by which this God of the Hebrews proved himself to be superior to the gods of that country, (even the confession of the magicians themselves) and the affrighted king had dismissed this people and perished in the stubborn pursuit of them afterwards when God was pleased to propose a publick national contract with them in the wilderness, and they had accepted the proposal, the preface to the commandments promulged at mount Sinai was this, *I am JEHOVAH thy God, who have brought thee out of the land of Egypt.*

Moses afterwards, at the 18th chapter of Deuteronomy, tells them that those dreadful punishments, which he there threatens them with, should be sent upon them for this very purpose, *that thou mayst fear this glorious Jehovah thy God.* Again, in the 28th chapter, being about to make a new contract before his final

parture from them, he exhorts them to obedience to it, and tells them, that all those wonders which were done in Egypt by *Jehovah* before their eyes, and all their miraculous support afterwards, during their forty years abode in the wilderness, were for this end, *that ye might know that I, JEHOVAH, am your God.*

This is all the history of the Prophecy of *Noah*, as it opened and displayed itself in the process of time; and all of it shews us that the separation of this people, and the erecting the theocracy, was in consequence of that prediction, by which it was declared that *Jehovah* should be the God of *Shem*. The meaning and design of it indeed began to appear at the calling of *Abraham*, but the full display of it was some hundred years after at the erection of the theocracy. Thus in the same prophecy the enlargement of *Japhet* was still longer deferred: for, as *Walter Raleigh* in his history of the world says, the great masters of nations (as far as we can know) were in *Abraham's* time of the issues of *Ham*; the blessing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* having less effect until diverse years were consumed, and until the time arrived, which by the wisdom of God was appointed. For of *Ghus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the people and princes which held the great kingdoms of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, many descents together.

To this may be added, that the sentence of *Ham* did never receive its full completion, till the Europeans, the posterity of *Japhet*, so lately discovered *America*, and enlarged themselves into it. So astonishing are the works of God, that the greatest enlargement of *Japhet* became the greatest and most eminent slavery of *Ham*.

We have said that the passages just quoted from *Moses* are the history of this prophecy, on the part of *Shem*, and that *Jehovah* should be his God. As this name could not be written in the Greek language, the septuagint Greek translators rendered it *Ευδοκας*: and always made use of *Ευδοκας* for *Jehovah*.

Our English translators, who had no reason, have still followed them in this, and rendered it *Blessed be the God of Shem* (which is worse than Greek, as wanting the emphatic

the) and constantly made use of *Lord* for *Jehovah*. This use may have been one thing that has served to keep the true meaning of this part of the prophecy of *Noah* at a distance; whereas the retaining the true name *Jehovah* would most certainly have brought this meaning sooner to light. For instance, in the original text, when *Moses* goes in before *Pharaoh*, we find *Jehovah* claiming his people: but we find no such thing in our own translation; where it is only, *Thus saith the Lord God of Israel let my people go.*

I have said that *Pharaoh* had never heard the name of such a God as *Jehovah* before; and we may now add that *Moses* himself had never heard such a name of God till the time of his own legation; when God first gave it to be his name during the course of the wonderful theocracy. His own account of it is as follows: "*Moses* said unto God, behold when I come unto the children of *Israel* and shall say unto them, *the God of your fathers hath sent me unto you*, and they shall say to me, *what is his name*; what shall I say unto them? And God said unto *Moses*, *I am that I am* (or rather, *I am who am, Ehjeh asher Ehjeh*.) And he said thus shalt thou say unto the children of *Israel*, *I am* hath sent me unto you. And God said moreover unto *Moses*, thus shalt thou say unto the children of *Israel*, *JEHOVAH the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you.* This is my name for ever, and this is my memorial to generation and generation." That is, this name *Jehovah* is the name by which I will be perpetually remembered. Again, at the sixth chapter, he tells him, *I am JEHOVAH, and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them.*

By all this it appears that *Jehovah* was to be the name of God, whilst he was pleased to be a gentilitical God in a moral sense; or in other words during the course of the theocracy. And it is very remarkable that since the expiration of the theocracy, this gentilitical name of God has ceased amongst the Jews; who by the means of a blind superstition dare never to pronounce it. So that this memorial of God has ended with the theocracy.

J. C.

To

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON
MAGAZINE.

SIR,

IT is a well known saying, that when a woman has lost her innocence, modesty soon follows, and I think it may as well be said of men, that when they resign all claim to principle, candour and truth will not long remain with them. I cannot, therefore, be surprized, however little I find of either of these belonging to the *Monthly Reviewers*, when I consider that they have abandoned principle of all kinds, and are either *this* or *that*, as best suits their interest or present design. The various instances where they stickle heartily for the Dissenters, need not be enumerated, as they are apparent enough in every Review: yet on the other hand, whoever will examine those noble repositories of criticism, may meet with frequent examples of other sentiments, such as I presume the *Monthly Reviewers* will not care to defend. Not to mention the manner in which they so lately spoke of the *christian revelation* in their review of *four dissertations*, let me remind you of a curious remark which is in their last Review, on page 411—where say the critics (speaking of Dr. Adams and his antagonist) “what pity it is that gentlemen of such respectable parts and laudable endowments do not immediately shake hands, and be sincere and cordial friends for the future—sensible as men of improved and liberal minds ought to be, that differences about modes of faith, or articles and tests of human imposition are unbecoming the dignity of their elevation above the ignorant vulgar!” Which being translated into plain English, is, cease your disputes, ye gentlemen of respectable parts and laudable endowments, ye men of improved and liberal minds; cease your disputes about the *christian doctrines*, for ye know how unworthy such subjects are of the dignity of your elevation above the ignorant vulgar; leave that vulgar to differ about them; ye Gentlemen and we Reviewers, know how trifling the whole business is, and should have no debate or sollicitude about it. I need not comment any further on this subject; your readers cannot but despise such authors, as they would no less despise their taste were they to see the eleven pages of

their last Review, which are filled with the absolute rubbish of Hebrew derivations, and useless conjectures, whether the laws which God gave Moses were read with or without points.

OLD SLY-BOOTS.

A Review of the last Session of Parliament.

WHILE parliament was sitting, it would neither have been safe, nor perhaps quite regular, to offer any opinion to the public, upon the justice or wisdom of their proceedings. To pronounce fairly upon their conduct, it was necessary to wait, until we could consider, in one view, the beginning, the progress, and the conclusion of their deliberations. The cause of the public was undertaken and supported by men, from whose abilities and united authority, to say nothing of the advantageous ground they stood on, might well be thought sufficient to determine a popular question in favour of the people. Neither was the House of Commons so absolutely engaged in defence of the ministry, or even of their own resolutions but that they might have paid some decent regard to the known disposition of their constituents, and, without any dishonour to their firmness, might have retracted an opinion too hastily adopted, when they saw the alarm it had created, and how strongly it was opposed by the general sense of the nation. The ministry too would have consulted their own immediate interest in making some concession satisfactory to the moderate part of the people. Without touching the fact, they might have consented to guard against or give up the dangerous principle on which it was established. In the state of things, I think it was highly improbable, at the beginning of the session, that the complaints of the people upon a matter, which, in the apprehension at least, immediately affected the life of the constitution, would be treated with as much contempt by their own representatives and by the House of Lords, as it had been by the other branch of the legislature. Despairing of their integrity, we had a right to expect something from their prudence, and something from their fears. The duke of G—n certainly did not foresee

what an extent the corruption of a parliament might be carried. He thought perhaps that there was still some portion of shame or virtue left in the majority of the House of Commons; or that there was a line in public prostitution, beyond which they would scruple to proceed. Had the young man been a little more practised in the world, or had he ventured to measure the characters of other men by his own, he would not have been so easily discouraged.

The prorogation of parliament naturally calls upon us to review their proceedings, and to consider the condition in which they have left the kingdom. I do not question but they have done what is usually called the king's business much to his majesty's satisfaction. We have only to lament that, in consequence of a system introduced or revived in the present reign, this kind of merit should be very consistent with the neglect of every duty they owe to the nation. The interval between the opening of the last and the close of the former session was longer than usual. Whatever were the views of the ministers, in deferring the meeting of parliament, sufficient time was certainly given to every member of the House of Commons to look back upon the steps he had taken, and the consequences they had produced. The zeal of party, the violence of personal animosities, and the heat of contention had leisure to subside. From that period, whatever resolution they took was deliberate and unprejudiced. In the preceding session the dependants of the ministry had affected to believe that the final determination of the question would have satisfied the nation, or at least put a stop to their complaints; as if the certainty of an evil could diminish the sense of it, or the nature of injustice could be altered by decision. But they found the people of England were in a temper very distant from submission; and though it was contended that the House of Commons could not themselves reverse a resolution, which had the force and effect of a judicial sentence, there were other constitutional expedients, which would have given

a security against any similar attempts for the future. The general proposition, in which the whole country had an interest, might have been reduced to a particular fact, in which Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Luttrell would alone have been concerned. The House of Lords might interpose;—the king might dissolve the parliament;—or, if every other resource failed, there still lay a grand constitutional writ of error, in behalf of the people, from the decision of one court to the wisdom of the whole legislature. Every one of these remedies has been successively attempted. The people performed their part with dignity, spirit and perseverance. For many months his majesty heard nothing from his subjects but the language of complaint and resentment;—unhappily for this country, it was the daily triumph of his courtiers that he heard it with an indifference approaching to contempt.

The House of Commons, having assumed a power unknown to the constitution, were determined not merely to support it in the single instance in question, but to maintain the doctrine in its utmost extent, and to establish the fact as a precedent in law, to be applied in whatever manner his majesty's servants should hereafter think fit. Their proceedings upon this occasion are a strong proof that a decision, in the first instance illegal and unjust, can only be supported by a continuation of falsehood and injustice. To support their former resolutions, they were obliged to violate some of the best known and established rules of the House. In one instance they went so far as to declare, in open defiance of truth and common sense, that it was not the rule of the house to divide a complicated question, at the request of a member*. But after trampling upon the laws of the land, it was not wonderful that they should treat the private regulations of their own assembly with equal disregard. The Speaker, being young in office, began with pretending ignorance, and ended with deciding for the ministry. We were not surprised at the decision; but he hesitated and blushed at his own baseness, and every man was astonished.

This extravagant resolution appears in the votes of the House; but in the minutes of the committees, the instances of resolutions contrary to law and truth, or of refusals to acknowledge law and truth when proposed to them, are innumerable.

The interest of the public was vigorously supported in the House of Lords. Their right to defend the constitution against any encroachment of the other estates, and the necessity of exerting it at this period, was urged to them with every argument that could be supposed to influence the heart or the understanding. But it soon appeared that they had already taken their part, and were determined to support the House of Commons, not only at the expence of truth and decency, but even by a surrender of their own most important rights. Instead of performing that duty which the constitution expects from them, in return for the dignity and independence of their station, in return for the hereditary share it has given them in the legislature, the majority of them made common cause with the other House in oppressing the people, and established another doctrine as false in itself, and if possible more pernicious to the constitution, than that on which the Middlesex election was determined. By resolving that they had no right to impeach a judgement of the House of Commons in any case whatsoever, where that house has a competent jurisdiction, they in effect gave up the constitutional check and reciprocal controul of one branch of the legislature over the other, which is perhaps the greatest and most important object provided for by the division of the whole legislative power into three estates; and now let the judicial decisions of the House of Commons be ever so extravagant, let their declarations of the law be ever so flagrantly false, arbitrary, and oppressive to the subject, the House of Lords have imposed a slavish silence upon themselves;—they cannot interpose,—they cannot protect the subject,—they cannot defend the laws of their country. A concession so extraordinary in itself, so contradictory to the principles of their own institution, cannot but alarm the most unsuspecting mind. We may well conclude that the Lords would hardly have yielded so much to the other House, without the certainty of a compensation, which can only be made to them at the expence of the people. The arbitrary power they have assumed of imposing fines, and committing during pleasure, will now be exercised in

its fullest extent. The House of Commons are too much in their debt to question or interrupt their proceedings. The Crown too, we may be well assured, will lose nothing of this new distribution of power. After declaring that to petition for a dissolution of parliament is irreconcilable with the principles of the constitution, his majesty has reason to expect that some extraordinary compliment will be returned to the royal prerogative. The three branches of the legislature seem to treat their separate rights and interests as the Roman Triumvirs did their friends. They reciprocally sacrifice them to the animosities of each other, and establish a detestable union among themselves upon the ruin of the laws and liberty of the commonwealth.

Through the whole proceedings of the House of Commons in this session, there is an apparent, a palpable consciousness of guilt, which has prevented their daring to assert their own dignity, where it has been immediately and grossly attacked. In the course of Dr. Musgrave's examination, he said every thing that can be conceived mortifying to individuals, or offensive to the House. They voted his information frivolous, but they were awed by his firmness and integrity, and sunk under it. The terms in which the sale of a patent to Mr. Hine were communicated to the public, naturally called for a parliamentary enquiry. The integrity of the House of Commons was directly impeached; but they had not courage to move in their own vindication, because the enquiry would have been fatal to Colonel Burgoyne, and the duke of Grafton. When Sir George Savile branded them with the name of traitors to their constituents, when the Lord Mayor, the sheriffs, and Mr. Trecothick expressly avowed and maintained every part of the city Remonstrance, why did they tamely submit to be insulted? why did they not immediately expel those refractory members? Conscious of the motives on which they had acted, they prudently preferred infamy to danger, and were better prepared to meet the contempt, than to rouse the indignation of the whole people. Had they expelled those five members, the consequences of the new doctrine of incapitation would have come immediately

ately home to every man. The truth of it then would have been fairly tried, without any reference to Mr. Wilkes's private character, or the dignity of the House, or the obstinacy of one particular county. These topics, I know, have had their weight with men, who, affecting a character of moderation, in reality consulted nothing but their own immediate ease; who are weak enough to acquiesce under a flagrant violation of the laws, when it does not directly touch themselves, and care not what injustice is practised upon a man, whose moral character they piously think themselves obliged to condemn. In any other circumstances, the House of Commons must have forfeited all their credit and dignity, if, after such gross provocation, they had permitted those five gentlemen to sit any longer among them. We should then have seen and felt the operation of a precedent, which is represented to be perfectly barren and harmless. But there is a set of men in this country, whose understandings measure the violation of law, by the magnitude of the instance, not by the important consequences which flow directly from the principle, and the minister, I presume, did not think it safe to quicken their apprehension too soon. Had Mr. Hampden reasoned and acted like the moderate men of these days, instead of hazarding his whole fortune in a law suit with the crown, he would quietly have paid the twenty shillings demanded of him,—the Stuart family would probably have continued upon the throne, and, at this moment, the imposition of ship-money would have been an acknowledged prerogative of the crown.

What then has been the business of the session, after voting the supplies, and confirming the determination of the Middlesex election? The extraordinary prorogation of the Irish parliament, and the just discontents of that kingdom, have been passed by without notice. Neither the general situation of our colonies, nor that particular distress which forced the inhabitants of Boston to take up arms in their defence, have been thought worthy of a moment's consideration. The repeal of those acts, which were most offensive to America, the parlia-

ment have done every thing, but remove the offence. They have relinquished the revenue, but judiciously taken care to preserve the contention. It is not pretended that the continuance of the tea duty is to produce any direct benefit whatsoever to the mother country. What is it then but an odious, unprofitable exertion of a speculative right, and fixing a badge of slavery upon the Americans, without service to their masters? But it has pleased God to give us a ministry and a parliament, who are neither to be persuaded by argument, nor instructed by experience.

Lord North, I presume, will not claim an extraordinary merit from any thing he has done this year in the improvement or application of the revenue. A great operation, directed to an important object, though it should fail of success, marks the genius and elevates the character of a minister. A poor contracted understanding deals in little schemes, which dishonour him if they fail, and do him no credit when they succeed. Lord North had fortunately the means in his possession of reducing all the four per cents at once. The failure of his first enterprize in finance is not half so disgraceful to his reputation as a minister, as the enterprize itself is injurious to the public. Instead of striking one decisive blow, which would have cleared the market at once, upon terms proportioned to the price of the four per cents six weeks ago, he has tampered with a pitiful portion of a commodity, which ought never to have been touched but in gross;—he has given notice to the holders of that stock of a design formed by government to prevail upon them to surrender it by degrees, consequently has warned them to hold up and enhance the price;—so that the plan of reducing the four per cents must either be dropped entirely, or continued with an increasing disadvantage to the public. The minister's sagacity has served to raise the value of the thing he means to purchase, and to sink that of the three per cents, which it is his purpose to sell. In effect he has contrived to make it the interest of the proprietor of four per cents to sell out and buy three per cents in the market, rather than subscribe his stock upon

any terms, that can possibly be offered by government.

The state of the nation leads us naturally to consider the situation of the king. The prorogation of a parliament has the effect of a temporary dissolution. The odium of measures adopted by the collective body sits lightly upon the separate members, who composed it. They retire into summer quarters, and rest from the disgraceful labours of the campaign. But as for the sovereign it is not so with him. He has a permanent existence in this country. He cannot withdraw himself from the complaints, the discontents, the reproaches of his subjects. They pursue him to his retirement, and invade his domestic happiness, when no address can be obtained by an obsequious parliament to encourage or console him. In other times, the interest of the king and people of England was, as it ought to be, intirely the same. A new system has not only been adopted in fact, but professed upon principle. Ministers are no longer the public servants of the state, but the private domestics of the sovereign. One particular class of men are permitted to call themselves the king's friends, as if the body of the people were the king's enemies; or as if his majesty looked for a resource or consolation, in the attachment of a few favourites, against the general contempt and detestation of his subjects. Edward and Richard the second made the same distinction between the collective body of the people and contemptible party, who surrounded the throne. The event of their mistaken conduct might have been a warning to their successors. Yet the errors of those princes were not without excuse. They had as many false friends as our present gracious sovereign, and infinitely greater temptations to seduce them. They were neither sober, religious, nor demure. Intoxicated with pleasure, they wasted their inheritance in pursuit of it. Their lives were like a rapid torrent, brilliant in prospect, though useless or dangerous in its course. In the dull, unanimated existence of other princes, we see nothing but a sickly, stagnant water, which taints the atmosphere without fertili-

zing the soil.—The morality of a king is not to be measured by vulgar rules. His situation is singular. There are faults which do him honour, and virtues that disgrace him. A faultless, insipid equality in his character is neither capable of vice nor virtue in the extreme; but it secures his submission to those persons, whom he has been accustomed to respect, and makes him a dangerous instrument of their ambition. Secluded from the world, attached from his infancy to one set of persons and one set of ideas, he can neither open his heart to new connexions, nor his mind to better information. A character of this sort is the soil fittest to produce that obstinate bigotry in politics and religion, which begins with a meritorious sacrifice of the understanding, and finally conducts the monarch and the martyr to the block.

At any other period, I doubt not, the scandalous disorders which have been introduced into the government of all the dependencies of the empire would have roused and engaged the attention of the public. The odious abuse and prostitution of the prerogative at home,—the unconstitutional employment of the military,—the arbitrary fines and commitments by the House of Lords, and Court of King's Bench; the mercy of a chaste and pious prince extended chearfully to a wilful murderer, because that murderer is the brother of a common prostitute, would, I think, at any other time, have excited universal indignation. But the daring attack upon the constitution in the Middlesex election makes us callous and indifferent to inferior grievances. No man regards an eruption upon the surface, when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching to his heart. The free election of our representatives in parliament comprehends, because it is, the source and security of every right and privilege of the English nation. The ministry have realied the compendious ideas of Caligula. They know that the liberty, the laws, and property of an Englishman have in truth but one neck, and that to violate the freedom of election strikes deeply at them all.

To JUNIUS.

SIR,

THERE was a time when your political batteries were directed against the characters of individuals, and though you wantonly belyed the most unexceptionable, this was by far the most innocent of your public amusements. The intemperance of even a real patriotic zeal, will sometimes gloss over the infamy of a lie, when it serves to render a minister odious; and the nation may receive a benefit from the crime of a pretended assessor of her liberties. Had you stopt there, the contempt due to you as a man, might have been balanced in the opinion of some people, by your merit as a watchful monitor: the vilest animals are of some use in the general system; and in this rule even the calumnious informer is included. But emboldened by impunity, and exasperated by defeat, you have mounted, by degrees, from particular characters to a general attack on the constitution of your country. Every branch of the legislature has been separately arraigned at the tribunal of the public by you; and, as if your pernicious designs were not sufficiently evident from these separate accusations, you have now the presumption to include them all in one. Your letter of Monday last daringly asserts, that k—, l—s and c—s, have abused the power and betrayed the rights entrusted to them by the constitution. What is this but to assert, that all government is at an end; and that hereafter every man is to rely for his safety on his own strength? What expectations of advantage may you entertain amid the confusion which you endeavour to raise, I know not; but this I know, that he who is guilty of such an attempt ought to be treated as the common enemy of mankind.

It would be presumption in me to take on myself the defence of the constitution; and it would, perhaps, be unworthy of the legislature to wish a defence against such an antagonist. There are some injuries, the atrocity of which, and the disproportion between the injured and the injurer, render them improper for punishment; and it is happy for the world that there are certain lengths in wickedness, be-

yond which if a man attempts to go, he defeats his own purpose, and the intended mischief recoils upon himself. You are precisely in this situation. While you only defamed the virtuous, the natural malice of all whom your satyr did not touch was on your side. When you insulted the m——y of a k—g, you was applauded by those who are envious of every thing above them. When you railed at the H—e of C——s, those who had any hopes for a change of m——y gave you encouragement: but God forbid that I should suspect a single man in England impious enough to approve your attempt to destroy a system deservedly dear to all who bear the name of Englishmen.

But although the consequences of your malice are not to be feared, it may not be improper to confute your arguments. And, in a candid view of the matter, it affords a pretty strong presumption against you, that your attack is made upon the whole legislative body of this empire. The united sense of such a body ought at least to inspire you with some diffidence of the justice of the cause which you embrace. It can never be the interest of k—, l—s and c——s, to conspire against the rights of the people. They can hardly even commit a mistake upon a point essential to the life of the constitution (if I may be allowed an expression of yours.) But the great misfortune of this is, that your faction, despairing to get into power by the open methods of constitutional opposition, has succeeded to persuade some part of the people that a point, not even essential to the perfection of the constitution, is essential to its entireness and existence. There is not an underling of your whole party who is not convinced of this truth; but it is sufficient for your purpose if you can impose it on the public as a falsehood.

Your surprize that the abilities and authority of your friends were not able to procure a reversal, in this session of parliament, of the proceedings in the last with respect to the Middlesex election, is affected: you knew these proceedings would not be rescinded; you knew they ought not to have been rescinded. It would indeed be very strange

strange, should the authority of any outed party prevail against a determination so solemn, so repeated, and so founded on justice. But when we consider the party which ought to have done all this, we are almost tempted to believe your surprize not only affected, but ironical. Do you really imagine that any great authority resides in the dark and intricate web of argumentation spun by Gr—lle, or the captious motions held out by D—li? in the incoherent and unmannerly ravings of B—f—d, to the more illiberal invectives uttered by B—e? In the frothy declamations of B—ke, or the acrid discontents of Sir G—e S—le? in the malignant virulence of the city sheriffs, or the awkward grunting of Sir J—h M—y? what force do you think belongs to the sophistry of a W—n, or a D—g, against the wisdom of this nation? Though it be easier to pull down than to rear up, our excellent constitution was not designed to be overturned by such feeble hands.

The business of the Middlesex election came before the House of C—s, as the only court on earth before which it could be determined. Whatever had been its fate in that H—e, the nation ought to have submitted from a regard to its own welfare. And it would have submitted had the welfare of the nation alone been concerned. For my own part, though I do not know a power that can constitutionally controul the H—e of C—s in its judicial capacity, yet had I been one of those who thought the determination unjust, it would not have displeased me to see the other two branches of the legislature unitedly interpose. When I say this, I am not very sure of the ground I go on; for I have been taught to believe, upon no mean authority, that an injustice done by the H—e of C—s is less dangerous to the constitution, than a redress of that injustice brought about by any of the other branches of legislature.

Therefore I rather go upon feeling than conviction when I suppose this case. But what has happened? Both the k— and the H—e of P—rs have been requested to interpose; and if violence could give a sanction, or pro-

mote a cause, violence has not been wanting in the mode of application. The business, both as to its form and substance, has been canvassed in public and private by word and in writing; and the result of all is, that the other two branches of the legislature, instead of interposing to controul, have approved and sanctified the proceedings of the H—e of C—s. So that what was originally an act of one branch, is at this hour an act of the whole legislative body, and cannot now be rescinded without a total subversion of the constitution.

For this reason JUNIUS treats the whole legislative body with outrage; and these are his words: "The three branches of the legislature seem to treat their separate rights and interests as the Roman Triumvirs did their friends. They reciprocally sacrifice them to the animosities of each other, and establish a detestable union among themselves upon the ruin of the laws, and the liberty of the commonwealth." I forbear to comment upon these words. They amount to a crime above the highest defined in our law; that crime, for which no punishment is provided, because no legislator could suppose a possibility of its being committed. But if the atrocity of the position can be equalled, it can only be by its absurdity: for there is not a mathematical demonstration more certain than that k—, l—s, and c— united, can have no interest separate from the interest of the community. Each of them may, but all of them cannot: and so far ought we to be from blaming their union with the H—e of C—s on this occasion, that every man in England, who values the constitution, ought to thank God for that moderation, and that love for true liberty, which prevented the k— and the H—e of P—rs from seizing this opportunity to destroy the balance of our liberties perhaps irretrievably. Good heavens, what an opening would the shallow politics of JUNIUS and his gang, afford to an ambitious and enterprizing monarch! what a danger have we not escaped by the virtue of him who sits on the throne of these nations! If he persists in rejecting the temptations which a furious and desperate faction force upon him, he will for this only, independent

all other merit, receive the blessings of our latest posterity. But this appears folly to the multitude, who must feel the distress before they can be made sensible of the danger.

Yet this is the k--- whom JUNIUS, in the wantonness of his malice, prides himself to insult: but, people of England, the insult is offered to you. As few men make dishonourable proposals to a woman, unless encouraged by some appearance of levity in her behaviour, so no man would dare publicly to insult your k---, unless he flattered himself that some part of you at least would not be displeased with it: I should say this, and it would be a lasting disgrace to you whatever character your monarch bore. But not to express your detestation of reproaches levelled against a virtuous man, and for that very virtue levelled against him, would stamp an infamy on the English name, which the merit of ages would not efface. It is your business to see to that: in the mean time I will beg leave to ask the person who professes to have so despicable an opinion of you, a few questions relating to the very extraordinary measure he has passed upon his k---. I have heard, JUNIUS, of blemishes on a man's character that were amiable; I have even heard of faults that, as you say, may do him honour. But I believe the amiable blemishes were not judged by a very exact standard of success. At any rate I never heard it disputed, but that the man would have been better had he wanted the faults or the blemishes. However, the particular question I would put to you is this, What virtue in the catalogue is it by which a k--- is disgraced? As you are a critic in language, I shall expect some precision in your answer. You know that virtue is a very relative term, and I give you all the advantages which arise from the loose meaning of the word. But if with these you cannot give a satisfactory categorical answer to the question, I will permit me to hold you for the most infamous slanderer, and the most presumptuous defamer that ever brought shame upon an age or nation. There is something so indicative of a general corruption and decay of manners in the daring to maintain so damnable a tenet, that were

it not for some instances still to be met with of that virtue which you stigmatise, this nation would be no longer a residence worthy of honest men, but ripe for that destruction which you and your rotten faction are straining every nerve to bring upon it.

I am very averse to suppose, that a general depravation of manners prevails to any considerable degree. And yet a man must shut his eyes not to perceive that it does prevail in some degree. This is not a time to investigate the causes, but the effects lie bleeding before us. You, JUNIUS, and the other myrmidons of faction, have seized the first eruption of the distemper, and directed its symptoms to an impatience and opposition to all lawful authority. Whether in the end you may not become the just victims of the flame you have kindled, time only can determine; but you have so far succeeded to pervert the very essence and nature of things, that what was formerly virtue, is now become vice. I do not pretend to say that the higher part of the nation is free from this contagion, but I will venture to affirm, that the lower part is most dangerously infected. I might instance the fatal increase of crimes of every kind in and about this metropolis, and above all the frequency of murders. 'Tis but of late that thirst of blood was part of the character of an Englishman; and I fear much we owe it now to the intemperate fury of politics, which has seized the lowest of the people.

You, JUNIUS, attribute this misfortune to the pardon granted by his m---y in two cases of murder; but the clamour you have raised about these, and the unrelenting malice with which the miserable objects of them have been pursued demonstrate that the cause exists elsewhere. Indeed that savageness of disposition, which can sound the charge to hunt down a miserable wretch, merely because he is an object of mercy, accounts much better for the horror of the times than any hope of impunity from a pardon, which, unless procured by the interest of faction, faction would take care to render ineffectual. But I mistake; there is a refinement of malice above this, and it is to procure the pardon, and make an outcry against it when it

is granted. Has not this been the case of the Kennedys? did not my Lord S—lb—n and the Duke of M—gh solicit their pardon? If there lies any blame, it is not in the King, who was humane enough to take their representations as true, but on them who dared to represent falsehoods to their sovereign.

This is a subject too melancholy to dwell on.—The triumph of the five members over the whole House of Commons presents a more agreeable prospect: These worthies I think are Sir George Savile, the Lord Mayor, the two sheriffs, and Alderman Trecothick. You might have added to the list, but then the number would not have answered another incident which you had in view; and the honour due to these gentlemen of demeaning themselves in a manner utterly unworthy of the character of *gentleman*, would have been too much divided. You boast that they treated the House unworthily; you acknowledge they deserved to be expelled; and you triumph because they were not expelled, urging the moderation of the House of Commons as a proof that it was in the wrong. Did you never hear a story of the clown in a court of justice, who between two lawyers, one of whom was very violent and scurrilous, and the other temperate and cool, being asked which he thought in the right, made this answer:—*Nay, I an't such a fool neither, but I can see who puts t'other in a passion.* I should be very apt to conclude with the clown, that temper and moderation is a better criterion of right, than violence and outrage. Since we are upon the subject of the House of Commons, I will venture to make a bold assertion; an assertion which many will stare at, but which all, who take the trouble of enquiring, will find to be true.—We have not seen since the revolution a House of Commons so independent as the present. I appeal to facts, and I dare you, JUNIUS, or any other of your kidney to contradict them. During the two sessions of the present parliament, more beneficial laws have passed, more popular questions have been carried, than in any other period of the same duration. When I say *popular* questions, I do not mean questions carried by your faction; for it is

much to the honour of this House of Commons, that faction and ministry have been equally unsuccessful in almost every question put as a faction or ministerial question merely.

This is a fact, though universally known, too little attended to: if it were, it would go far to render you JUNIUS, as odious as you deserve to be. The time, however, may come when the delirium, which seems to have seized on us, will cease, and we shall look back with amazement on the extravagancies it has forced us to commit: but while it lasts, we resemble a drunken man, who is firmly persuaded that he only is steady while the whole world turns round.

MODESTUS

Mr. Kelly's Letter to the late Lord Mayor, forming a considerable article in the political publications of the time, and being much the subject of conversation, we have given it a place notwithstanding the unexpected death of his Lordship.

To the Right Honourable WILLIAM BECKFORD, Esq. Lord Mayor of LONDON.

My Lord,

THOUGH an acquaintance with your lordship is neither among the honours I possess, nor among those I am very ambitious of obtaining, I am nevertheless obliged to take a public notice of your lordship, in consequence of an attack, as unwarrantable in its nature, as illiberal in its manner, which you were pleased to make upon my character, at the court of common council, held at Guild-hall on Monday the 14th of the present month.—Liberality, indeed, I had a mighty reason to expect from your hands, but I had a right to expect justice.—You might have regarded the sacred dictates of veracity, however you disdained the principles of politeness; and you might have avoided the assertion of a *falsehood*, however you nobly soared above the exercise of civility.

This language, my lord, may be considered as very free, but it cannot be considered as very improper; elevated as your situation is, and humble as mine may be, the eye of unprejudiced reason does not behold us in a state of disparity; it sees your lordship

ped from all the parade of official dignity, if it sees me obscure, and even views you in a state of absolute inferiority, where you have committed an unprovoked, a premeditated act of injustice.—As the party injured, therefore, my lord, I will not hesitate to pronounce myself your superior; I derive more lustre from truth, than you can boast from the adventitious circumstance of place, and you should esteem it a mark of my condescension, if I address you upon terms of equality.

At the court of common council, my lord, held at Guild-hall on Monday the 14th of the present month, your lordship thought it necessary to make a formal complaint against a letter inserted in the Public Ledger of the preceding Saturday, which contained a severe animadversion on your conduct, relative to the unfortunate Kennedy, and exhorted you, in forcible terms, to *deviate* for once into humanity. Had your lordship confined yourself entirely to the imaginary delinquency of that letter, I should not have troubled you with this, tho' I might have thought it strange to hear a lover of liberty arraigning the freedom of the press; and thought it stranger still to find your lordship offended at a reprehension of your own proceedings, while you were hourly reprehending not only the proceedings of parliament, but even personally taxing your sovereign with more than impropriety. It was not, however, enough for your lordship to condemn the charge alluded to, as an infamous libel upon your conduct; you went further:—you pointed me out as the author of this charge, and exposed me to all the resentment of popular prejudice, without one certain enquiry into the fact; your *belief* was wholly to supply your want of evidence, and I was in reality to be guilty, because you were pleased to suppose me criminal. In the course of your harangue upon this occasion, you expressed yourself in a strain perfectly consistent with the elegant elegance of your orations:—*That tho' you did not mind the accusation urged in the Ledger—that you knew the author—he was an Irishman—a man and prose run mad*—Afterwards, I am well informed, your lordship mentioned my name to some of the members, and added the place of my

residence, the better to ascertain the identity of my person.

Whether any extraordinary regard is or is not due to your lordship's declaration, relative to the contempt which you entertained for the *slander* in the Ledger, the public must determine; considerate people will indeed imagine it odd, that you should take up the time of the common council with an invective against what you professed to despise; and others will look upon it as rather indelicate, to require the attention of your fellow-citizens, upon a subject which you indignantly pronounced entirely beneath your own.—For my part, my lord, I candidly confess my doubts of your political stoicism; though I will not *accuse* you of the tender feelings, I must still suspect you of much pride, and I think it very probable that this pride, may be galled almost to madness, without working a miracle upon your temper, and animating its native marble either into shame or sensibility—I am well persuaded your lordship will affect a smile of ridicule even at this letter, authenticated as it appears with the name of the author; yet I am also well persuaded, that poorly as it may be written, it will mortify you severely; I depend upon the irascibility of your disposition, to operate in the room of candour, and expect those very effects from the excess of your vanity which I am not to hope from the conviction of your heart.

To justify the liberty of this declaration, my lord, it is now necessary for me to aver in the most solemn manner, that I neither wrote the letter animadverting on your lordship, in the Ledger of May the 14th, nor can form any reasonable conjecture whatever in relation to the author.—But, my lord, admitting that it even had been a production of mine, why was the poetical character to be contumeliously mentioned on my account? Some of the best, as well as of the noblest names this country ever produced, have thought themselves honoured to be ranked in the catalogue of poets, and it remained for the *auspicious* period of your Lordship's mayoralty to suppose genius joined to understanding disreputable.—Yet, surely, my Lord, as men do not make themselves, neither genius nor understand-

ing can be mentioned to their reproach; it might have pleased God to have given your Lordship a spark of genius, it might have pleased God to have given your Lordship a ray of understanding; your utter want of both, however, is no more a merit in your Lordship, than the extensive possession of each is criminal in a CHESTERFIELD or a LITTLETON; and, possibly, posterity may wish that either had fallen to your share, instead of those *amiable* qualities with which your Lordship is so *strangely* and so incessantly endeavouring to *restore* the happiness of your country.

I now proceed, my Lord, to the illiberality of your national reflection:—It seems, that, as well as undergoing *disgrace* by being a *poet*, I must also suffer dishonour by being an *Irishman*; and the sister kingdom, though so eminent for her loyalty, so distinguished for her affection to Great Britain, is at once to be branded with obloquy, because a supposed writer against the Lord Mayor of London is an *IRISHMAN*.—Here, ye sons of that brave, though hardly treated land, here is a proof of MR. BECKFORD'S *exalted* rectitude. However you have shone in arts or in arms; however as scholars, or as heroes, you have gained universal applause, the wreath must be instantly torn from your brows, and you must relinquish your title to honest reputation, because you are guilty of being *Irishmen*.—Yet, my nobly-minded countrymen, let us not retaliate littleness with littleness; nor suppose the circumstance of climate either constitutes the virtue, or depravity of our hearts; the burning regions of Jamaica have doubtless their numberless perfections, though it is said Mr. Beckford was born in that island; and we are never to look with disrespect upon a people, because an individual may deserve our universal contempt, or detestation.

I will not beg your pardon, my Lord Mayor, for the affectation of this apostrophe; I introduce it as the *mildest* method of reproving your injustice to the kingdom of Ireland, and I hope your Lordship will profit by the reproof in your future orations.—You cannot be insensible, my Lord, that some of the chief ornaments in the present opposition, are natives of

the country which you have thus ungenerously traduced; and that without the assistance of their abilities in the House of Commons, the cause of popularity would by no means be so formidable. On the other hand you cannot be insensible, that the chief persons, who, according to your Lordship, are forging chains for public freedom, are Englishmen; yet no reflection is cast upon the English on that account.—Let these circumstances, my Lord, teach you to avoid the meanness of national reflections; and let the consequence of injuring even so inconsiderable an object as the writer of this letter, prevent you from exposing the first magistrate of the first city in the world to the disgrace of similar expostulations; though eloquence is not within your reach, truth, a much more valuable acquisition, is always in your power; and a proper use of the poorest talents is sure of gaining esteem, while a misapplication of the brightest is always attended with anxiety.

I could say much more, my Lord, and aggravate the impropriety of your procedure to me, by expatiating on your character as a magistrate, and a legislator; but I shall conclude here—I will disappoint your intended prosecution—and save you from the shame of doing me an additional wrong, even while I despair of your retraction to do me a common act of justice.

I am, my LORD,

Your sincere well-wisher,

Tho' not your much obliged,

HUGH KELLY.

Knight Rider Street, Doctor's Commons,
May 25, 1770.

To Mr. M. M.

S I R,

June 13, 1770.

I find by your last, which you kindly call your *farewell* letter, that instead of thanking me for my reproof, you infer from it my being *touchy* and *angry*, and undertake the vindication of a glaring imposition on your readers, who were made to believe that Mrs. M—'s words concerning the king's excessive uxoriousness, and her references to Milton and Lilly, are *mine*. By quoting them, it seems, I make them so; though, you say, I give *the honour of them to Mrs. M—*. Do I so?—Should not you, my friend,

have done the same, and not by that mean equivocation [*Phil. writes*] have deprived her of that honour? and must you not now acknowledge, that the compliment you make *me*, on the occasion, should have been addressed to that admired lady, to whom the preference is on all accounts undoubtedly due?---MADAM, are not you ashamed to publish such low, such indelicate, such Billingsgate reports? &c. Blush, MADAM, blush, unless you have a brow of brass, and a conscience as callous as his executioners.---Quite polite!---Blush, Mr. M. M, blush!---Are not you ashamed to treat a lady thus?---So distinguished a lady!--And for what? Truly because she referred to authors which you don't like, (but whose want of veracity you cannot prove) and intimated, that the king's giving up himself intirely to the conduct and government of his proud, bigotted, popish queen, was vitious!---Will you dare to say, it was not? Or that his doing so was suitable to the character of a christian hero, which you continue repeatedly to give him, without taking any notice of what I offered to prove him unworthy of it. How much better would he have deserved that name, if he had imitated the behaviour of that illustrious eastern hero towards his wife, when she bid him curse God and die? If, when the queen ordered the king to go and pull these rogues out by the ears, &c. and thus violate his coronation oath, and hazard the loss of his crown and life; if, I say, instead of obeying her, he had told her, as JOB did his wife, that she talked like a fool; and had rejected the motion with indignation and abhorrence; would he not have discovered more real love to her, and more true heroism, than he did? That the king was, in a prevailing degree, temperate, chaste, and so a pattern of conjugal affection, is readily acknowledged: but if you, Mr. M. M. are a married man, and if Mrs. M. (whose goodness will excuse on this occasion the supposition of what is so very improbable) should ever urge you to take such measures as evidently tend to your utter ruin, I hope you would not demonstrate your extraordinary affection for her, and at the same time your magnanimity, by complying with her.

You repeat H. C's assertion, that the king who lays down his crown and life in his religion may properly be called the best of kings (unless I can exhibit such another) which Charles certainly did. I shall not so far trespass on the reader as to repeat what I said in answer to this. Please to review it. I'll only add here---the question is not, how or for what he dyed: but how he lived (I think history mentions one if not more who died in defence of atheism) how did the king behave through life? like a wise, righteous and gracious sovereign, or much the reverse? Did he in general act the part of a good king, solicitous to promote the comfort and happiness of his subjects, and thus answer the design of his being placed over them, and discharge with fidelity the trust reposed in him? Can you, sir, affirm this? If not, how can you say, he was the best of kings?

You fancy you got an advantage over me by my saying---the king's political character alone calls for our attention; asking, how then it comes to pass, that I take such pains to exaggerate what I had before advanced, that the king was the promoter of revels on Sundays?---This unimportant question you might answer yourself, if you would consider, that H. C's going off from the subject, led me after him, particularly by his long quotation from so respectable a writer as Dr. Burton, who I thought went much too far in affirming that the fear of God appears to have been the governing principle throughout the king's whole behaviour. Besides---doth not his encouraging the profanation of the Lord's day affect his political character, not only as it was a breach of the law both of God and man, but as it was attended with a cruel persecution; hundreds of pious ministers grievously suffering on that account? But you would fain have him considered as innocent in this respect without any proof, and throw all the blame upon his council, as if it was done without his approbation or consent: (how vain the attempt!) adding, your fair historian highly censures the council and the parliament that followed the revolution; but makes no reflections on King William. He was siled the great, the glorious, the immortal. For shame, Phil. learn a little modesty of that lady, and if K. William justly escaped

censure, why not K. Charles? Risum teneatis! Who that is at all acquainted with the English history can forbear smiling to find you thus comparing K. William the third to K. Charles the first? Do, my friend, be so good as to run a parallel between the two reigns, and demonstrate (you can do it if any man can) that the government of Charles was not more arbitrary and despotick than that of William; that the one studied as much as the other to make his people easy and happy, and gave them as little cause of complaint, &c. 'Tis a melancholy truth, that K. William met with great difficulties,—that there were those about him who ungratefully embarrassed his government, and obstructed the excellent designs he had formed for the good of his country and the advancement of the protestant religion. Can this be said of K. Charles the first? did not he and his ministers concur in concerting and prosecuting arbitrary measures, and endeavouring to enslave a free people? Is not this undeniable? but can any thing like this be alledged against K. William? Is not this then evidently the reason why the latter, but not the former, escaped the censure of our celebrated female historian.

I must not overlook the apology you make for his majesty, when you say he *acted agreeable to the principles he was born in, bred in, and educated in.* A plea that will perhaps suit some of the greatest criminals. You go on—*principles approved by the senate, preached from the pulpit and defended at the bar.* Give me leave to add—and all encouraged by the king, who lent a willing ear to a tribe of sycophants that accomplished by the same means their own selfish designs and his destruction. You add—if I repeat what I before observed, I follow your example, *whose letter to me is a repetition of SCURRILITY.*—Very gentleman-like!—I perceive you are angry; which I place to the account of those principles, which probably you was bred in, and educated in (principles not very friendly to mankind); and I can easily make allowance for your belonging to a party, who are not wont to be over-mannerly to their neighbours, when they happen to differ from them. I must however own my obligations to

you, sir, for the attempt you make for my illumination and conviction by proposing a case to me. Suppose yourself, Phil. (say you) a lord of Scotland, jealous of your privileges to which you was born, insisting on the vassalage of your parents and servants. Upon some extraordinary occasion you demand their assistance in a cause, which some few think illegal. They address, remonstrate and petition. These few corrupt your clans. They rebel. Would you resign your power to shew your amiable qualities, which are so essentially necessary to constitute a good lord of Scotland? I throw not, and though this is not strictly parallel, yet it will give one reason to ask, whether Charles had not in his days as much reason to insist on his prerogative as you on your privileges. To which I answer,—I desire to be in no station, wherein I cannot be considered as a benefactor to mankind. Nor do I call that a privilege, which is only a liberty and power to oppress and plague those who are in the same rank of being with myself. You suppose me as a lord of Scotland born to such a privilege as, in such a situation, I should utterly disclaim, nor have I any notion of that prerogative which implies a right to do wrong. To rob and murder is as much the birth-right of every highway-man as of any monarchs in the world: the greatest of whom ought to consider themselves as servants to the publick ministers of God for good: and while they approve themselves faithful are to be highly honoured and revered by men, and will find favour with God. But he that doeth wrong, be he in a higher or lower station, shall receive for the wrong he hath done, and there is no respect of persons. Their most sacred majesties, who have stately, deliberately allowed themselves in acts of injustice, shall go away accursed, &c. nor will the righteous judge of the world admit of any plea founded on an imaginary birth-right or prerogative, if they paid no regard to the admirable golden-rule he gave them, if instead of protecting and relieving their fellow-men they have continued to injure and oppress them, and instead of redressing their grievances have increased and multiplied them.—But I doubt you will be apt to call this, *fantastical cant*, &c.—Be that as it will, if it be agreeable to the dictates of eter-

reason and truth, and will stand the test of the last day, I need not mind what you say; no, not if you think I affect to be *severe*. In which case you let me know, that as you are *counsel for the king* you will *insist on being heard last*. But your right to that, sir, may be disputed. Perhaps, I who am *counsel for millions*, may think fit (with Mr. Baldwin's good leave) to continue my correspondence with you; and who then will have the last word is quite uncertain. You are I own a better pleader than I, but you know the goodness of the cause is a mighty advantage. I remember a judge on the bench once said to a very eminent counsellor (who was afterwards Lord Chancellor) Sir P—— you argue very poorly—He immediately sat down, replying—my lord, *it is a very poor cause*. Whether he meant he had nothing worth hearing to say for his client, or was poorly paid, I know not: perhaps both—which is your case. Your cause is bad; nor will the wiser part of the nation make you their thankful acknowledgements for attempting to prove that *be*, who *would* if he *could* have made slaves of us all and all our descendants, to the latest posterity—*was the best of kings*. In your next at-

tempt of this kind, let me intreat you to keep to the point. Do not think it is enough to prove that he was a good husband, a good churchman, a constant attendant on public worship, &c. You know who devoured widows houses—men guilty of extortion and rapine, while they made high pretences to religion; and were scrupulous observers of external rites, while they neglected weightier matters, and appeared to be strangers to *justice, mercy, and fidelity*. This, alas! was too much the king's case; which I hope you will remember, whenever you write again on this subject.

Your wishing me a penitential 30th of January did not give me such offence as you suggest. No: I smiled at the impropriety of the phrase, and now commend your prudence for not defending it. Nor am I so *highly displeased* as you say I seem to be, at the liberty you have taken with me, &c. I own, I should have been better *pleased* if you had not wandered so far from the subject of our present debate; which I hope you will be careful not to do in your next letter to,

Sir, Your most obedient
humble servant,

PHILANTHROPOS.

THE BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

AGREEABLE to the promise we last month made our correspondent Cecilia, the following little history is presented for her perusal.

In a part of Devonshire that shall be nameless, lived a gentleman of a most amiable disposition, and most exemplary principles—He was the father of all the neighbouring poor, and the friend, indiscriminately, of every worthy heart—His wife, perfectly suitable to his mental accomplishments, possessed a person uncommonly pleasing, and as was her husband's pride to give her the proper consequence upon every occasion, it was her highest ambition to promote his happiness. One little girl was the object of their mutual love, and mutual delight—Nature had been liberal in endowments, and as the strictest cultivation was not wanting to complete her partial work, the young Emma was no less celebrated for her growing excellencies, than her father and mother for their mature

ones. But such is the fatality of human affairs, that the sons and daughters of joy are sooner or later compelled to experience a melancholy reverse—Mr. Dormer (for that was the gentleman's name) was seized with a disorder, that, before the idea of danger could reach his family, deprived them of him for ever—and as his estate from a deficiency of male heirs devolved to a distant line, the fortune, as well as the felicity of his wife and child, sustained unspeakable diminution.

The mind, however, will find its resources—Mrs. Dormer, after the first transports of her grief were over, seemed to live again in maternal tenderness—The loss of one parent rendered the retention of another doubly essential, and whilst she pressed the sweetly intelligent Emma to her bosom, she promised that nothing should be omitted on her part to preserve her from the calamity of becoming an orphan.

Their

Their circumstances though rather limited, under the direction of economy, was more than sufficient to answer all their wishes—their habitation conveyed the most agreeable sensations to the breast of every beholder, for it appeared the seat of neatness and contentment, and their manners revived all that the poets had told of beautiful simplicity, in the imagination of those that were favoured with their acquaintance. But as every good has its attendant evil, the education this worthy girl received, though it would have fitted her for the company of angels, only made her connexion with the world beyond measure dangerous—compassion and generosity divided her heart, and as she knew not what it was to deceive, she had no suspicion that any one could ever mean to deceive her—thus were her tears frequently given to the designing, and her little purse devoted to the service of the unworthy—she nevertheless found such pleasure in her own reflections, that it would have been cruel to have pointed out the imposition, nor indeed would it have been an easy matter to have robbed her of the painted clouds her benevolence induced her to be peculiarly pleased with, for though cheated o'er and o'er, her best consolation would have been still to confide.

A young fellow, who had run thro' a succession of the gayest scenes, beheld her with inconceivable admiration—she was all that others feigned, and as she was remarkable for the prudence of her conduct and the delicacy of her sentiments, he imagined it would be amusing to recommend himself to her approbation.

Hackneyd in the ways of men, he however thought it wisest to fix the mother his friend, before he made one attempt to play upon the romance of the daughter's composition—for which purpose, he set off with appearing constantly at the village church, and affecting to shun, instead of seeking, opportunities of attracting their notice—Accident is frequently favourable to villains—a heavy storm of thunder and rain threw the congregation into great tremors—Mr. Molyneux advised their quitting that shelter, notwithstanding it was necessary to expose themselves to its utmost violence in gaining their habitations—for as spires (and a spire of no small eminence dignified this sacred dome) were often struck in such

extremities, he was of opinion it was much safer to be out even in the open air, than in their present situation. Fears are easily magnified—but the event justified the wisdom of his suggestions, for the parishioners had barely found a salutary roof, when the church was almost totally demolished; nor would it have been possible for one tenth of the people to have escaped instant destruction. Mr. Molyneux's activity was astonishing—he had seemed to have a hand at every one's service, but amidst all his attentions, Mrs. Dormer was not the least considerable object, and for the timid, the beautiful Emma, her he conveyed home lifeless in his arms.

This was more than sufficient to ensure him the kindest reception with Mrs. Dormer—Under the Supreme Being, he was looked upon as the favourer of her child, and she was distressed at her inability to repay so immense an obligation.

Emma, the sweet unsuspecting Emma, could not but acknowledge, that exclusive of that day's merit, he was an agreeable young gentleman—A stranger to the world, she imbibed the impressions he chose to communicate and as he described its pleasures in the most glowing colours, at the same time that he concealed all its pains from her knowledge, she insensibly began to wish she could be admitted to a participation of them, without being separated from her beloved mama.

Mrs. Dormer was not quite such a novice, as not to perceive the attachment that subsisted between these young people; but she perceived it with the highest satisfaction.—From fancying him deserving, she was desirous to bestow her child upon him and had predetermined to be propitious, long before his solicitations for consent reached her ear. Emma was by much the least attainable—she had formed no domestic plan that could soothe her imagination—unaccustomed to controul, and gratified to the utmost of her wishes, she was apprehensive that any change must be for the worse but as her mother appeared interested upon the occasion, and as she knew no person upon earth that she would prefer to her present choice, she at length complied with the united opportunity of the mother and the lover and, in one fatal hour, fatally marked her future fortune. Molyneux had been

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what is called a general lover—Youth and beauty were advantages that he had never overlooked; but his success had ever disgusted him—to address, was to win, and until his Emma taught him what was meant by delicate hesitation, he had conceived that it was only to ask and have, throughout the whole sex. Yet as *curiosity* had incited him to lead her to the altar (for until her hand was obtained he was at no certainty respecting her tender sentiments of him) so vanity incited him to make a most unmerciful use of his power—when Mrs. Dormer was present, his behaviour was wholly unexceptionable, but the moment she retired, gloom and neglect were all her child could boast—if she spoke she disturbed him, if she was silent, the charge of sullenness infallibly awaited her—terrified and distressed by what she was unable to comprehend, she could only weep in secret; for as he paid defiance to gentle remonstrances, and disregarded her intreaties, she had little hopes that a foreign interposition would have any happy effect upon him. It was Mrs. Dormer's custom to repair early to her apartment; and it soon became an established custom with her son-in-law to leave his wife until a very late hour.—She always sat up for him herself, and he knew he could rely upon her principles not to betray him, but her provocations be ever so great—her unremitting smile could not however secure her from ill treatment, for if she escaped insult, she was sure to incur his ridicule. How dreadful this condition must be to an accomplished mind, can need no illustrations—naturally sociable, and equal to almost every subject, to be excluded from the satisfactions of society, though exposed to the painful, the insupportable task, of attempting to share in that conversation in which her mother was engaged. These were nevertheless small evils, to what she was born to experience. Mrs. Dormer's death gave her husband possession of her little fortune, and constituted him tyrant at large.—He thereupon soon hurried her up to town, where her life was one unvaried succession of mortification, his of dissipation, until he had spent the last shilling. He then began a new mode of persecution—what a blessed wife a woman of elegance was for an undone man! and

so judiciously did he circulate this cause of discontent, that his own family, notwithstanding they knew him to be but an indifferent manager, very good-naturedly set Mrs. Molyneux down for a friend to extravagance, a friend to impropriety. During this period he commenced acquaintance with some theatrical gentlemen, who, immediately on seeing and conversing with his wife, persuaded him to offer her to their manager, assuring him he might depend upon his gladly engaging her performance.

Mrs. Molyneux was petrified at the proposal—could she make a public exhibition of her person, or exert her little abilities for pleasing under such extraordinary circumstances?—she besought him not to think of it, but he thought of nothing else until he had menaced her into a compliance—She would have left him and wandered to the utmost verge of the universe, rather than have forfeited her claim to modesty, and violated her notions of decency; but he declared he would follow her wheresoever she went, and, if he could not reduce her to submission, deprive her of all protection by blasting her reputation. This was a calamity she could not (however supported by conscious innocence) endure the idea of; and most unfortunately preferred following the steps he prescribed, to incurring the censure she concluded could alone reach her by venturing on steps that were self-dictated.

But though the manager was amazingly taken with her person, her voice, her elegant address, and her elegant movements, he pronounced it impossible for her to excel on the stage: she was the gentlewoman, not the actress; she felt for herself, instead of feeling the passions of the prescribed page, and had an unconquerable propensity to fly even just applause, where she should employ every art to captivate, to steal upon the approbation. Her husband nevertheless swore she should subdue her folly—for which purpose he forced her to mix with company her soul abhorred—the midnight revel, and the daring jest, were attempted to be rendered familiar to her; but such was the construction of her taste and principles, that she still shuddered most at the *last* scene, was still convinced that her horror was capable

capable of augmentation, though utterly incapable of diminution. A nobleman at one of the rehearsals distinguished her from the multitude, and, having received the particulars of her circumstances, made her what he thought a most *generous* offer of his protection—she blessed the occasion—from believing that an indignity of such a nature must rouse her husband into pride, if not sensibility; and prove the means of securing her from all future display of her unhappy person. She knew however but little of the man she had to deal with—he charged her with being the *cause*, by her own conduct, of that effect; and stripping her of the last shilling she possessed, spurned, and left her to disgrace and indigence. He left her, but it was in order to promote his interest at her expence—an interview with the nobleman was easily obtained, and as there were precedents on record, he was not long in settling the exchange—a place for the East Indies, together with a sum of money, was his, and all right and title in the lady resigned to his benefactor. Lord—immediately waited upon her—wretchedness and anguish marked her once beautiful countenance—he besought her to rest her future hopes of happiness upon him—communicated her husband's proceedings, and begged her to act like a woman of spirit. O! sir, said she, falling at his feet—abandoned, vilified, and penniless as I am, can I forget what I ought to be—you now see before you an object of compassion—that compassion shall never be converted into contempt. I am, it is true, upon the point of perishing, unless some humane hand is stretched forth to save me; but that hand must be uncontaminated by guilt, and the benefits it confers, far, far different to the wages of iniquity. Can you, will you intitle yourself to my best gratitude, enable me to hide myself for ever from a bad world, and if possible forget the severity of my fate.

The nobleman was greatly but not properly affected: he offered her a large settlement, treated her resolutions of flying society as ridiculous, and was ready to serve her in every respect, but the one she so particularly requested. In a word she was reduced to absolute despair when the recollection of the pro-

fessors of benevolence occurred to her to us she applied, nor did we forsake our character by suffering her to apply in vain—she has taken upon her the instruction of those young people we may consent to receive under our care, and as every additional hour of our acquaintance with her is revealing some additional perfection, she is generally looked upon as a most valuable acquisition.

As we would not be thought to be hard upon any one, we shall forbear all comments upon the above facts—Cecilia, if a woman of understanding will pick her lesson of instruction from them, and never more know much less acknowledge, *discontent* that have not their source in misfortune, their origin in offending virtue.

A little million of correspondents will be answered next month.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

S I R, London, June 9. 1777
THE publication of the following paper, in your next Magazine may be of great use to magistrates, and the peace-officers acting under them and will oblige your constant reader and humble servant, A.

Some Observations on Permit Passes, shewing how the Frauds committed by Persons travelling with such Passes may in a great Measure be prevented.

BY PERMIT PASSES, are meant licences, which are now and have been for many years past, frequently given by the magistrates to all sorts of poor persons, in accidental distress, to travel to the places of their last settlement, keeping the direct road. And although such passes are strictly justifiable in law, the Statute of the 39 Eliz. ch. 17. sec. 7. authorizing the giving them to soldiers and sailors only, yet, it must be presumed their utility and necessity are very great to the magistrates, or they would not have gone so generally into the practice of giving them.

There are, doubtless, others to whom they may with propriety be given, but they seem more particularly proper to be given to HUSBANDS and MANUFACTURERS, who are continually travelling from place to place,

in search of employment in their respective occupations.

TILLAGE is, at this day, so improved and extended; and MANUFACTURES are increased, and brought to such a degree of perfection; as could neither be foreseen, or hoped for, at the passing of the above statute: and the progress they have both made, is in great measure owing to the freedom with which the labourers have therein been, of late years, permitted to go where they have thought proper, to find employment; without being compelled, before they set out, to take licences, as HUSBANDMEN are directed to take, by the statute of 5 Eliz. ch. 4. sec. 23, or 13 and 14 Car. 2. c. 12. which licences they might now find some difficulty to obtain; and which were at first calculated with a view to keep a sufficient number of labourers at home, to gather in the harvest: at this day, however, there doth not appear to be any necessity for such restraint; for we seldom or never hear that the farmer is obliged, for want of hands, to apply to the magistrate to compel his neighbours to assist in gathering in the harvests; which the magistrate is authorized to do, by the said 5 Eliz. sec. 22. and such law had not been made, unless such compulsion had been often necessary at that time; but the case being now altered, such licences are seldom taken, and the labourer goes when and where he pleases.

Now it must often happen that both the HUSBANDMEN and MANUFACTURERS will be disappointed in their expectations, and sometimes afflicted with sickness or such slight indispositions as may render them unfit for labour, though not for travel, and find themselves distressed at a very great distance from the places of their legal settlements; and in either of those cases, PERMIT PASSES seem very proper, and in some sort necessary: for it would be extremely hard to oblige the labourer, where it may happen, to send his paupers home, by orders of removal, at a great expence, or to cause those to be conveyed as rogues and vagabonds, who have committed no offence.

But, there is great reason to apprehend that such distress is often feigned, and that the magistrate imposed on, and

passes obtained on false pretences; that many such passes are forged; that great frauds, by means thereof, are daily committed; and parish officers and others cheated by idle and disorderly persons; who make a trade and livelihood by travelling from place to place and begging with such passes, so obtained, or forged.

Admitting this to be the case at present, there seems no necessity, for that reason, to stop the giving PERMIT PASSES; as the like frauds might, in a great measure, be prevented by the magistrates and constables, or other peace-officers, for the future.

By the magistrates, if they, before granting such passes, were to examine those who apply for them on oath, touching the place of their last legal settlement, and give no passes but to such who are going home, and cause the purport of the examination to be inserted in a few words in the pass; which is now too generally omitted.

By the constables, or other peace-officers, of the places through which such travellers pass, if they were strictly to observe the following rules.

1. Not to relieve any, but such as are going one way; that is, either to or from London, or some other city or great town, as shall be agreed on with the officers of the neighbouring parishes: and who have their passes allowed under the hand of a magistrate of the place; nor unless the whole number of persons, mentioned in each pass, are produced to them, and are travelling in the direct road.

2. To seize every pass, and the bearer as a vagrant who shall ask relief, and not produce the whole number mentioned in the pass, or where they shall have cause to suspect the same is forged, and apply forthwith to a magistrate for further direction, and that the bearer may be punished, as the law directs.

3. To discourage, and, as much as possible, avoid giving relief to such who do not appear to be in distress, or travelling to the place of their legal settlement.

4. To set down what sums they give on the pass; for the information and direction of the officers of other places, through which the bearer is to proceed; and to take care, in relieving such as shall appear to them objects of charity

charity, at the same time as they assist them in their necessity, not to encourage them, by being too liberal, to make a trade and livelihood, by travelling in that manner.

5. To apply to the churchwardens and overseers of the poor, on first coming into office, for general instructions how, or with what sums, to relieve persons travelling with such pas-

ses; without which they have no pretence to be repaid the money they shall advance on this account; and which cannot be paid out of the county stock.

Note, *The above observations are founded on experience; and the annual expence of relieving persons with permit passes hath been reduced near two-thirds, by the constable keeping strictly to the foregoing rules.*

THE BRITISH THEATRE.

Continued from p. 228.

THE last number of the British Theatre was concluded with a very high compliment from Mr. Pope on the tragedy of Cato, which he thinks much more forcible in affecting the passions, than the most pathetic relation of the same story could possibly be in an epic poem. With great deference however to Mr. Pope's opinion, we cannot look upon Cato by any means as a good tragedy, though we readily allow it to be a poem of great excellence. It is notoriously deficient in the chief circumstances that constitute the merit of a correct play, and even so destitute of that pathos, for which Mr. Pope particularly celebrates it, that we are reduced to the necessity of declaring, we know not a colder, a less animated production on our theatres.

A polished diction, or an elevated sentiment, though extremely necessary to form a capital tragedy, is far from being the chief requisite; propriety of fable, interest of situation, variety of character, and above all, morality of lesson, constitute the essentials of the tragic drama; in most of these points, if not in all, Mr. Addison's Cato is very deficient. His plot, particularly in the wretched love episode, is incongruous to the last degree; his characters, if we except Sempronius and Syphax, who are the thorough-paced villains of a hundred tragedies, have an insipid sameness, exceedingly disgusting; and the total want of interest is so glaring, that notwithstanding the beauties of the versification, as well as the dignity of the sentiments, the play is insupportably heavy in the representation; on this account it is but seldom exhibited; and even when

it occasionally appears, the little entertainment it furnishes scarcely ever produces a full house, or if there is a crowded audience, it is rather out of compliment to some favourite actor who plays the principal part, than out of any admiration of the piece as a dramatic production.

We have not yet taken any notice of the most striking defect in this tragedy, a defect which counteracts every lesson inculcated by the sentiments and instead of a useful, makes it a very dangerous representation in this country, where the crime of suicide is unhappily too common, without the assistance of theatrical encouragement. Having said thus much, it is scarcely necessary to tell the critical reader that the catastrophe of Cato is highly culpable, and, in our opinion, below both the patriotism and the fortitude of the character. It may be urged however, that the poet adhered closely to historical truth in this circumstance, and that he could by no means alter it, without offering a violence to the judgement of mankind. In answer to this, we must observe, that Mr. Addison has not regarded historical truth in other particulars. Cato had no daughter named Marcia, nor was his real daughter married to Julius—her name was Portia, and she was married to the celebrated Marcus Brutus, the principal conspirator against Cæsar. As Mr. Addison therefore thought himself justified in deviating upon one occasion from history, we do not see, why on another he should preserve so rigid a punctuality. Theatrical pieces are designed for public instruction, and it is no excuse for an author to say his story is in its danger.

dangerous; he ought not to chuse such a story; he ought to be certain that his fable is at least of a moral tendency; if his play is not calculated to improve, it is not proper for exhibition; and he may be like Mr. Addison, a very fine, but by no means a good dramatic writer.

From criticism on established performances, we now come to speak of the *LAME LOVER*, a new one just brought out by Mr. Foote; it is a comedy of three acts, the persons and fable of which are the following:

P E R S O N S.

Sir Luke Limp	Mr. Foote
Young Circuit	Mr. Weston
Serjeant Circuit	Mr. Vandermere
Woodford	Mr. Knowles
Col. Secret	Mr. Robson
Fairplay	Mr. Wheeler

Footmen, &c.

W O M E N.

Mrs. Simper	Mrs. Saunders
Miss Circuit	Mrs. Jewell
Mrs. Circuit	Mrs. Gardner

Maids, &c.

F A B L E.

SERJEANT CIRCUIT, an old cunning practitioner in the law, having had two children by a former wife, viz. Master Jacky and Miss Charlotte, previous to the opening of the piece, is supposed to have married a high spirited modern fine lady, who enters Sir Luke Limp, a facetious gentleman, who has had the misfortune to lose one of his legs, as her gallant in her husband's house, under pretence of his courting Miss Charlotte. The comedy opens with a scene between the Serjeant and his daughter, who seems to have no great inclination to receive Sir Luke upon the footing of a lover, and drops some hints of her suspicions of his design on the honour of her mother-in-law. The Serjeant makes his appearance soon after—and in the course of a very lively conversation, very humorous, proves, that the loss of a leg is in no manner of disadvantage to him, rather the contrary; and gives in his opinion, that man is by nature, a very extravagant creature, and might do equally as well without legs as arms, hearing or seeing. In the middle of this scene a servant enters with a card from Sir Gregory Goose, inviting Sir Luke's company to dinner.

This, he says, is a little unlucky, as he was before engaged at Alderman Incles's: However, on hearing that Sir Gregory had gained his election for a seat in parliament, he resolves in favour of the latter; but the messenger is hardly dispatched, when another invitation arrives from Lord Brentford, also requesting his company to dinner. Here again the Lord prevails over Sir Gregory, and a third invitation from a duke in his own chariot with the coronets on, entirely supercedes the Lord's, and carries Sir Luke off, greatly elated at the compliment he had received.

Master Jacky then enters, introducing Mr. Fairplay an attorney, and the guardian of young Woodford, who comes to engage Circuit as counsel for his ward in a trial that is in agitation for the recovery of the young man's estate, which is supposed to be very considerable. The Serjeant promises Fairplay his assistance; but, as soon as he has quitted the room, concludes to consult the counsel for the defendant, and to stick to that side by which he is likely to gain most. Mrs. Circuit next appears, and after a short dialogue, lets the Serjeant know she must have a considerable sum of money to discharge her debts of honour. A short soliloquy from the Serjeant follows on the perversion of the word *honour*, and the first act concludes.

Master Jacky gives his sister a letter at the commencement of the second act from young Woodford, who is violently in love with her, and presses for an interview that afternoon. Charlotte, after chiding her brother for undertaking such an affair without her knowledge, shews some signs of compliance. They are interrupted by the entrance of the Serjeant, who comes to give his son a lesson. Then follows a truly diverting scene between the father and son, which may be called a Lawyer's Catechism: after which they make their exit, and are succeeded by Mrs. Circuit, who appears full of anxious expectation of news from the Thatched-House, where she was that day to be ballotted for as a member of the Ladies' Coterie. She has not waited long when a servant brings her a letter, the contents of which are, that she is *black-balled*.

This throws Madam Circuit into a fit, and puts the whole house in an uproar. Sir Luke Limp enters, and expresses great concern for her misfortune. After some conversation, they both conclude it will be most prudent for the lady to appear unaffected by her disappointment, and Col. Secret and Mrs. Simper coming in to bring her the news, and condole with her, she tells them she was obliged to prevail on two of her friends to *black-ball* her. The whole party then sit down to a cold collation; and Sir Luke, in a fit of pleasantry, to ridicule the Serjeant, brings in a block with one of the gentleman's wigs on, which they dress in a gown and band, and place at the head of the table. Upon observing how serious the poor Serjeant sat, the Col. and Mrs. Simper endeavour to enliven him with a song; but this being found ineffectual, Sir Luke proposes to try a cause before him; and the company go off to equip themselves, which closes the second act.

The beginning of the third act Young Woodford is introduced by his friend Jack into Charlotte's chamber, where they are discovered by Betty, who resolves to acquaint Mrs. Circuit with the affair. After they are gone off, the Serjeant enters, and to his surprize sees his image placed at the head of the table. Presently he discovers four lawyers coming into the room, and resolves to hide himself under the gown which was placed there to represent him. These were no other than the company coming back to try the cause; which is a fine satirical burlesque upon the unmeaning jargon of law pleadings, in the course of which Mr. Foote *takes off* Serjeant

W——, and Mrs. Gardener, Serjeant N——, in a very droll manner.

Old Circuit remains concealed, till a knotty point occurs, which he wants to explain, when he discovers himself, and entirely disperses all the company except Sir Luke, who sits down with him with the laudable intention of making him drunk, but unfortunately intoxicates himself as well as the Serjeant. Here, in the fullness of his heart, he acquaints Mr. Circuit what a sad dog he has been, and how he has, in consequence of the encouragement he received from Mrs. Circuit, dishonoured his bed. This enrages the Serjeant against his wife, who having listened to their discourse, enters, and after denying the charge, and subduing her husband, makes him attack the Knight, and they at last push him out of doors. Upon the Serjeant's declaring, that he would sooner marry his daughter in *forma pauperis* than to Sir Luke, Mrs. Circuit tells him that the young lady had taken pretty good care of herself, having been locked up with Woodford for a considerable time. The Serjeant demurs a little upon this, but concludes at last to reconsider the case, and determines, if he finds any probability of recovering the estate, "the match won't be so much amiss."

From the foregoing fable a judicious reader will see that the LAME LOVER cannot be very full of business; it is indeed wholly otherwise, and notwithstanding many strokes of true wit and genuine humour, it on this account met with no favourable reception, except in the first act, from the public.

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW of NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ARTICLE I.

MEMOIRS of Russia, historical, political, and military, from the year 1727, to 1744, a period comprehending many remarkable events, &c. 1 vol. 4to. Becket.

The article before us is translated from the original manuscript of General Manstein, an officer of distinction in the Russian service, and is illustrated with several curious maps and plans, that give the reader a clear idea with respect to the theatres of military operation—with regard to the historical, and political parts of the work, they appear in our opinion no less candidly than ingeniously executed; the author in particular is very happy

in his characters, and the following account of the celebrated Biron favourite to the empress Anne, who has been so universally known as the duke of Courland, will we are confident prove entertaining to our readers.

His grandfather, whose proper name was *Bieren*, was head-groom of the stables to the duke James III. of Courland; and as he attended him every where, found means to acquire his favour, insomuch that, by way of gratuity, he gave him a farm in free-grant. This *Bieren* had two sons, of which one entering into the service of Poland, began with carrying a musket, and got to be promoted to the rank of general.

The other, father of the Biron of whom I have been just speaking, remained in the service of Courland, and followed the duke Alexander, the youngest of the duke's sons, when he went to Hungary in 1686. The prince was wounded before Buda, and died of his wounds. Bieren, who had followed him, in quality of his groom of the horse, with the title besides of lieutenant, brought back his equipages to Courland, where they gave him the employ of a master huntsman, so that what with that, and the small inheritance of his father, he was in tolerably easy circumstances.

He had three sons; the eldest of them, Charles, began by serving in Russia, where he was advanced to the rank of an officer, and was taken prisoner by the Swedes, in an action with the Russians. Having found means to escape out of confinement, he went to Poland, took on the service, and had risen to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He afterwards returned to the service of Russia, where, in a very few years, he got to be a general officer. He was the most brutal of all men; and was maimed and marked with the number of wounds which he had received in various scrapes, into which his drunkenness and quarrellousness had brought him. At length, in Russia, every one was come to dread him, and to avoid having any thing to say to him, since his brother was become the favourite, and omnipotent in the government.

The second son was Ernestus John, who rose to the dignity of duke of Courland, of whom I shall presently treat more at large.

The third son Gustavus, was also a general officer in the Russian service. He had begun with serving in Poland. The Empress Anne being seated on the throne, sent for him, and appointed him major of a new regiment of guards. As he was brother to the favourite, he could easily obtain promotion. He was a very honest man, but without education, and of no understanding.

I return to the second brother: he had been for some time at the academy of Koenigsberg in Russia, when he was obliged to leave it, to avoid being arrested for some bad actions he had had in Courland. Finding that he could not subsist without service, he went in 1714 to Petersburg, and solicited a gentleman's place at the court of the princess, sister to the Czarewitz. It was then thought an impertinent presumption that one of so low a birth should pretend to such a post. He was not only rejected with contempt, but obliged to make the best of his way instantly out of Petersburg. At his return to Mitau, he made an acquaintance with Bestucheff, (then of the high-chancellor) who was then master of the household at the court of the duke of Courland. Soon he got into her

good graces, and had a place of gentleman of the chamber. He was scarce settled in it, before he fell to work at the ruin of his benefactor; in which he succeeded so well, that the duchess not only forbid him her court, but persecuted him as much as she could, and sent De Korf expressly to Moscow, to carry on a suit against him.

This Bieren, as to his person, was very handsome, and soon got deep into the favour of the duchess, who took such delight in his company, that she made him her confident.

The nobility of Courland conceived a great jealousy against this new favourite: some carried it such a length, that they laid out for occasions to pick quarrels with him. As then he stood in need of a support among the nobility, he sought the alliance of some ancient family. He met with several refusals; at length he prevailed over mademoiselle de Treiden, maid of honour to the duchess, and married her, even before he had got the consent of her friends. By this marriage he hoped to gain admission into the body of the nobility: he solicited it, and was harshly refused.

The ministry of Russia did not more like him than the nobility of Courland. The scurvy trick he had played Bestucheff had set the whole world against him, so that he was detested and despised at Moscow. This went to such a pitch, that when, a little while before the death of Peter II. De Korf solicited an augmentation of pension for the duchess, the ministers of the council of state declared to him frankly, and without any mincing of the matter, that every thing should be done for her highness, but that they would not have Bieren dispose of it. On the emperor's demise, Anne being elected empress, one of the proposals made to her by the deputies at Mittau was, as already related, that she should leave her favourite behind her there. She consented, but he presently followed her. After she had declared herself absolute sovereign, she made him her chamberlain, and, on the day of her coronation, he was raised to the honours above-mentioned.

The duke Ferdinand of Courland, and last of the house of Kettler, being dead, he managed so successfully, by his arts and cabals, that he was elected duke and consequently became the sovereign of a country, of which the nobility had, but a few years before, refused to admit him into their body.

When he began to advance himself in the career of fortune, he took the name and arms of the dukes of Biron in France. This man it is who, during the whole life of the empress Anne, and some weeks after her death, reigned with perfect despotism over the vast empire of Russia. He had no sort of learning, nor yet any education, except what he took of himself. He had not that kind of

wit as gives the power of pleasing in society
 on conversation ; but he was not, however,
 destitute of a certain degree of natural good
 sense, though there are some that aver the
 contrary. It is not without reason that the
 proverb might be applied to him, " that af-
 fairs form men ; " for, before his arrival in
 Russia, he had not, perhaps, so much as
 heard of the name of politicks ; whereas,
 after having resided there some years, he
 knew perfectly well all that related to that
 empire. The two first years, he made as if
 he meddled with nothing, but at length he
 took a taste for business, and governed every
 thing.

It is unnecessary to inform the intelligent reader that Biron on the decease of the empress Anne had the address to get himself acknowledged regent to the young emperor Twan (lately put to death) and that he projected the establishment of the Russian empire in his own family - his intrigues, however, producing a revolution, he was banished into Siberia, where he continued till recalled by the empress Elizabeth about the year 1741.

II. *The deserted Village, a Poem.* By Dr. Goldsmith, 4to. 2s. Griffin.

This is a very elegant poem, written with great pains, yet bearing every possible mark of facility; in our last number we gave an extract from it containing the picture of a country curate. We shall now present the public with the description of a country school-master, and a village alehouse which we think particularly picturesque.

Beside yon straggling fence that skirts the
way,

With blossomed furze unprofitably gay,
There, in his noisy mansion, skill'd to rule,
The village master taught his little school ;
A man severe he was, and stern to view,
I knew him well, and every truant knew ;
Well had the boding tremblers learned to trace
The day's disasters in his morning face ;
Full well they laugh'd with counterfeited glee,
At all his jokes, for many a joke had he ;
Full well the busy whisper circling round,
Conveyed the dismal tidings when he frown'd ;
Yet he was kind, or if severe in aught,
The love he bore to learning was in fault ;
The village all declared how much he knew ;
'Twas certain he could write and cypher too ;
Lands he could measure, terms and tides pre-
sage,

And even the story ran that he could gauge.
In arguing too, the parson owned his skill,
For e'en tho' vanquished, he could argue still;
While words of learned length, and thunder-
ing sound,

Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around,
And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew,
That one small head could carry all he knew.

But past is all his fame. The very spot
Where many a time he triumphed, is forgot.
Near yonder thorn, that lifts its head on high,

Where once the sign-post caught the passing
eye,

Low lies that house where nut-brown draughts
Where grey-beard mirth and smiling toil re-
tired,

Where village statesmen talk'd with looks
And news much older than their ale went
Imagination fondly dreams to

Imagination fondly hooops to trace [round]
The parlour splendours of that festive place;
The white-washed wall, the nicely [faded]
floor, [door]

The varnished clock that clicked behind the
The chest contrived a double debt to pay,
A bed by night, a chest of drawers by day.

A bed by night, a chest of drawers by day;
The pictures placed for ornament and use,
The twelve good rules, the royal game

goose ;
The hearth, except when winter chill'd the
day,

With aspen boughs, and flowers, and fennel
While broken tea-cups, wisely kept for thee

Vain transitory splendours! Could not a
Reprieve the tottering mansion from its fall!

Obscure it sinks, nor shall it more impart
An hour's importance to the poor man's heart
Thither no more the peasant shall repair.

To sweet oblivion of his daily care;
No more the farmer's news, the barber's tale

No more the wood-man's ballad shall prevail
No more the smith his dusky brow shall clear
Relax his ponderous strength and lean to hear

The host himself no longer shall be found
Careful to see the mantling blifs go round;
Not that he would his selfe will to be so

Nor the coy maid, half willing to be prest,
Shall kiss the cup to pass it to the rest.
III. *A Survey of the British Customs.*

S. Baldwin, 4to. 10s. 6d. Nourse,
To men of business this book is a most
valuable article: and indeed the community

valuable article; and indeed the community large has in this work great obligations to the good-sense and accuracy of Mr. Baldwin.

IV. *Appendix to Opuscula, a farewell Oration to the Chair of the College of Physicians London, &c.* By Sir William Browne, &c. Is. Owen.

This is a most wretched translation of
most wretched Latin oration written by
some author, in which the licentiates are

tain information, and the Ionian Antiquities are the joint production of the three names in the title page, who under their patronage lately visited particular parts of the island, and now offer the fruits of their researches to the public.

VI. *The Posthumous Works of a late celebrated Genius.* 2 vols. 12mo. 5s. Almon.

An infamous attempt to palm the united effusions of dulness and indecency upon the world, as the genuine productions of the late Mr. Sterne.

VII. *The natural History of Lac, Amber, and Myrrh, &c.* By John Cooke, M. D. of Leich, in Essex, 8vo. 6d. Woodfall.

The design of this publication is to recommend some essences and a tincture to the world, in which Dr. Cooke we fancy is particularly interested.

VIII. *Pride and Ignorance, a Poem.* By Edward Nicklin, Gent. 4to. 2s. 6d. Baldwin. Mr. Nicklin may be a very worthy man, but we cannot by any means consider him as a good writer.

IX. *Some Account of the British Dominions and the Atlantic, in which the important region of the North West Passage is satisfactorily discussed, &c.* By William Doyle, L. B. 8vo. 2s. 6d. Domville.

The idle reverie of a political visionary.

X. *The Messiah, in nine Books.* By John Cameron, 8vo. 4s. Robinson and Roberts.

Some Translations have lately appeared from the German on religious subjects, which have given Mr. Cameron the idea of this performance; we are sorry however to observe that what should be grave, is turned to farce, the affectation of a prose absolutely run down, which he intends for elevated style, but which must appear highly disgusting to every eye of composition.

XI. *Poems on several Occasions, written by Thomas Parnell, late Archdeacon of Ely, &c.* Davies.

Mr. Parnell's reputation as a poet has long been universally established, and his writings are very well known that it is unnecessary in this characterise them; we shall therefore only say, that this is a new edition of his poems, with his life by Dr. Goldsmith, in which however we can discover nothing very extraordinary.

XII. *A short Account of the Waters of Roderigo Veldagno in the Venetian state,* &c. letter from Antonio Mastini, M. D. to Dr. Bunbury, Bart. 8vo. 1s. Doddsley.

The chief merit of these waters according to Dr. Mastini consists in an ethereo-elastic quality, which account he recommends them for the cure of the stomach, hypochondriac affections, and all other disorders arising from an acid, or too inert a bile.

XIII. *A short Essay on military first Principles.* By Major Thomas Bell, 8vo. 5s.

For the critical reader in the present

article may find some things to condemn, the military student will discover many things well worth his serious observation.

XIV. *Critical Observations on the Writings of the most celebrated original Geniuses in Poetry.* By W. Duff, A. M. 8vo. 5s. Becket.

There is much good sense, as well as much ingenuity in the present article; it is divided into eight sections, comprizing the author's opinion of Homer, Ossian, Shakespeare, Spencer, Milton, Ariosto and Tasso. His last section considers the effects of genius upon tempers and characters, together with the good and bad consequences resulting to the possessors; we can however no more agree with Mr. Duff that Homer, Ossian, and Shakespeare, were the only complete original geniuses the world ever boasted, any more than we can think Ossian deserves a place in such very illustrious company.

XV. *A chronological Series of Engravers, from the Invention of the Art to the present Century.* 12mo. 3s. Davies.

This article can be of no use but to the mere collector of prints, as it is barely a catalogue of names, which may put us upon an enquiry into their performances.

XVI. *The Establishment of the Church of England defended by the Principles of religious Liberty.* By N. Foster, M. A. 4to. 1s. Wilkie.

The sermon before us was preached at the bishop of London's triennial visitation at Chelmsford. It seems a plain, sensible discourse; but indeed it was no way difficult to prove that the more liberal a religion is, the more it is calculated to promote the happiness of mankind.

XVII. *Six Pastorals.* By G. Smith, 4to. 2s. Doddsley.

Mr. Smith is a landscape painter of great eminence at Chichester—And though his pen is not to be put in competition with his pencil, we must nevertheless acknowledge, that it is calculated to produce very pretty pictures.

XVIII. *Reflexions on the seven Days of the Week.* 12mo. 1s. Rivington.

We are told that these reflections are the effusions of a female fancy, and that the fair author is but lately dead, we cannot therefore be suspected of flattery, when we declare that the air of piety and benevolence which breathes through this little work would do honour to the first names in the republic of literature.

XIX. *A short Explanation of some of the principal Things contained in the Revelation of St. John, shewing from the 11th Chapter, that the Fall of the tenth Part of Turkey, is begun under the Protection of the Empress of Russia.* 1s. Owen.

A dark room, and a recipe from Dr. Batty is much more necessary for this writer than a critical examination. Our readers need therefore be only told, that the article before us, is the fabrication of some religious lunatic

tic, whose case may merit their compassion, but whose works can excite nothing but their laughter.

XX. *The Usage of holding Parliaments and of preparing and passing Bills of Supply in Ireland, stated from Record, with Annotations and an Address to Lord Townshend.* By C. Lucas, M. D. 8vo. 1s. Robinson and Roberts.

The pamphlet now under consideration was drawn up to justify the proceedings of the Irish administration with regard to the right of originating money-bills in the privy-council, instead of the House of Commons; but Dr. Lucas invalidates the sufficiency of the records stated, and proves to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind, that as all public money must be ultimately paid, so it should

be originally raised by the legal representatives of the people.

XXI. *Providence, a Poem.* By the Rev. J. Wise, 8vo. 1s. 6d. White.

This poem, if poem it may be called made its first appearance about three years ago but met with no success; the author however now offers it a second time to the world, and tries what a little abuse will do, by *miserably* mauling in a prefatory criticism Mr. Pope's essay on man. How far this may serve him with the world we know not—Scurrility seems the chief ingredient of our present literature, and perhaps where a man evidently wants politeness he may be complimented with the supposed possession of extraordinary abilities.

POETICAL ESSAYS.

A POLITICAL BALLAD.

YE politic blockheads and asses,
Who rail at old time as he passes,
Now grumble away, look rueful and sad,
For the people of England are all going mad.
All go mad,
Prospect sad,

For the people of England are all going mad.
Through every part of the nation,
How few are content in their station!
The loaves and the fishes they all have in view,
And that's the true chace which all grumblers

pursue;
Profit in view,
Grumblers pursue,
And profit's the chace which all grumblers

pursue.
There's Taycho, the trumpet of faction,
Who sets all their forces in action,
At titles and pensions he always has soar'd,
And ever was charm'd with the sound of my

lord;
Great is my lord,
Mighty fine word,
And Pitt was enslav'd by the sound of my

lord.
A while then so quiet and civil,
Poor freedom might go to the devil,
Contented and passive confin'd by the gout,
Till hopes of fresh honours has now sent him

out;
Now he comes out,
Spite of the gout,
In search of advantage he now ventures out.

There's eloquent thoughts, and his master
Partake in this useful disaster,
With justice they grumble now turn'd out of

place, [grace?
What statesman can bear such a shocking dis-
Turn'd out of place,
Shocking disgrace, [place?

What statesman can bear to be turn'd out of

Havannah, so glorious and great,
Is surely a patriot complete,
All soldiers and sailors revere the good man,
For making of money was never his plan;
Great was the plan,
That led the good man,

For making of money was never his plan.
Poor Wilkes's afflictions and trouble,
Are vanish'd away like a bubble;
Conducted from prison in judgement to sit,
A striking example of liberty wit;

Patriot wit,
His project hit,
And the wit of all wits is a liberty wit.

Though grumblers enough still attend,
To my song I shall now put an end,
And advise every Briton to merit applause
By revering his monarch, religion, and law.

This is the cause
Merits applause,
Then honour your monarch, religion,
laws.

EDMUND and CATHERINE.

THOUGHTS on the present discontent
Written by Edmund B—rkel
Cries Catherine, 'tis to all intents
A most pernicious work.
Thoughts upon Edmund's thoughts I'll write
Thoughts that shall stand the test;
And all shall own, when I indite,
That second thoughts are best.

The Death of Nicou, an African Ed.

ON Tiber's banks, Tiber, whose
glide
In slow meanders down to Gaigra's side
And circling all the horrid mountain
Rushes impetuous to the deep profound
Rolls o'er the ragged rocks with hideous
Collects its waves beneath the earth's vast

There for a while, in loud confusion hurl'd,
 The crumbles mountains down and shakes the
 world.
 Till borne upon the pinions of the air,
 Through the rent earth, the bursting waves
 appear;
 Fiercely propell'd the whiten'd billows rise,
 Break from the cavern, and ascend the skies:
 Then lost and conquer'd by superior force,
 Thro' hot Arabia holds its rapid course.
 On Tiber's banks, where scarlet jasmynes
 bloom,
 And purple aloes shed a rich perfume:
 Where, when the sun is melting in his heat,
 The reeking tygers find a cool retreat;
 And in the sedges, lose the sultry beam,
 And wanton with their shadows in the stream,
 On Tiber's banks, by sacred priests rever'd,
 Where in the days of old a god appear'd:
 'Twas in the dead of night at Chalda's feast,
 The tribe of Alra slept around the priest.
 He spoke; as evening thunder bursting near,
 His horrid accents broke upon the ear;
 Attend Alraddas, with your sacred priest!
 This day the sun is rising in the east;
 The sun, which shall illumine all the earth,
 Now, now is rising in a mortal birth.
 He vanish'd like a vapor of the night,
 And sunk away in a faint blaze of light.
 Swift from the branches of the holy oak,
 Horror, confusion, fear, and torment broke:
 And still when Midnight trims her mazy
 lamp,
 They take their way thro' Tiber's watry swamp.
 On Tiber's banks, close rank'd, a warring train,
 Stretch'd to the distant edge of Galca's plain;
 When arriv'd at Gaigra's highest steep,
 We view the wide expansion of the deep;
 In the gilding of her wat'ry robe,
 The quick declension of the circling globe;
 From the blue sea a chain of mountains rise,
 Extended at once with water and with skies:
 Beyond our sight, in vast extension curl'd,
 The check of waves, the guardians of the
 world.
 Among were the warriors, as the ghost of Cawn,
 Who threw the hill of archers to the lawn:
 When the soft earth at his appearance fled;
 And rising billows play'd around his head:
 When a strong tempest rising from the main,
 And the full clouds, unbroken on the plain,
 Immortal in the sacred song,
 And the red sword of war, and led the strong;
 When his own tribe the sable warriors came,
 And try'd in battle, and well known in fame.
 When descended from the god of war,
 Who liv'd coeval with the morning star:
 Who was his name; who cannot tell,
 Who all the world through great Narada fell?
 When, the god who rul'd above the skies,
 And on Narada, but with envious eyes:
 The warrior dar'd him, ridicul'd his might,
 And in white bow, and summon'd him to
 fight.

Vichon disdainful bade his lightnings fly,
 And scatter'd burning arrows in the sky;
 Threw down a star the armor of his feet,
 To burn the air with supernat'ral heat;
 Bid a loud tempest roar beneath the ground;
 Lifted the sea, and all the earth was drown'd,
 Narada still escap'd; a sacred tree
 Lifted him up, and bore him thro' the sea.
 The waters still ascending fierce and high,
 He tower'd into the chambers of the sky:
 There Vichon sat; his armor on his bed,
 He thought Narada with the mighty dead.
 Before his seat the heav'nly warrior stands,
 The lightning quiv'ring in his yellow hands:
 The god astonish'd dropt; hurl'd from the
 shore,

He drop'd to torments and to rise no more.
 Headlong he falls; 'tis his own arms compel,
 Condemn'd in ever-burning fires to dwell.
 From this Narada, mighty Nicou sprung;
 The mighty Nicou, furious, wild, and young;
 Who led th' embattled archers to the field,
 And bore a thunderbolt upon his shield:
 That shield his glorious father died to gain,
 When the white warriors fled along the plain:
 When the full sails could not provoke the
 flood, [blood,

'Till Nicou came, and swell'd the seas with
 Slow at the end of his robust array,
 The mighty warrior pensive took his way;
 Against the son of Nair, the young Rorest,
 Once the companion of his youthful breast.
 Strong were the passions of the son of Nair,
 Strong, as the tempest of the evening air,
 Insatiate in desire; fierce as the boar;
 Firm in resolve, as Cannie's rocky shore.
 Long had the gods endeavour'd to destroy,
 All Nicou's friendship, happiness, and joy:
 They sought in vain; till Vicat, Vichon's
 son,

Never in feats of wickedness outdone,
 Saw Nica, sister to the mountain king,
 Drest beautiful, with all the flow'rs of spring:
 He saw and scatter'd poison in her eyes;
 From limb to limb, in varied forms he flies:
 Dwelt on her crimson lip, and added grace
 To every glossy feature of her face.
 Rorest was fir'd with passion at the sight,
 Friendship and honour sunk to Vicat's right:
 He saw, he lov'd, and burning with desire,
 Bore the soft maid, from brother, sister, fire,
 Pining with sorrow, Nica faded, died:
 Like a fair aloe in its morning pride.
 This brought the warrior to the bloody mead,
 And sent to young Rorest the threatening reed,
 He drew his army forth: Oh! need I tell!
 That Nicou conquer'd, and the lover fell:
 His breathless army mantled all the plain;
 And death sat smiling on the heaps of slain.
 The battle ended, with his reeking dart,
 The pensive Nicou pierc'd his beating heart:
 And to his mourning valiant warriors cry'd,
 I and my sister's ghost are satisfy'd,

Brooke-Street, June 12,

C.

ODE for his MAJESTY's Birth-Day,
June 4, 1770. Written by William
Whitehead, Esq; Poet-Laureat, and set
to Musick by Dr. Boyce, Master of the
King's Band of Musicians.

DISCORD hence! the torch resign—
Harmony shall rule to-day.
Whate'er thy busy fiends design
Of future ills, in cruel play
To torture, or alarm mankind,
Lead the insidious train away,
Some blacker hours for mischief find,
Harmony shall rule to-day.

Distinguish'd from the vulgar year,
And mark'd with heaven's peculiar white,
This day shall grace the rolling sphere,
And ling'ring end its bright career,
Unwilling to be lost in night.
Discord lead thy fiends away,
Harmony shall rule to-day.

Is there, intent on Britain's good,
Some angel hovering in the sky,
Whose ample view surveys her circling
flood,
Her guardian rocks that shine on high,

Her forests, waving to the gales,
Her streams that glide thro' fertile vales,
Her lowing pastures, fleecy downs,
Towering cities, busy towns,
Is there who views them all with joy serene,
And breathes a blessing on the various scene?


O! if there is, to him 'tis given,
(When daring crimes almost demand
The vengeance of the Thunderer's hand)
To soften, or avert the wrath of heaven.
O'er Ocean's face do tempests sweep,
Do civil storms blow loud,
He stills the raging of the deep,
And madness of the croud.

He too, when heaven vouchsafes to smile
Propitious on his favourite isle,
With zeal performs the task he loves,
And every gracious boon improves.

Blest delegate, if now there lies
Ripening in yonder pregnant skies
Some great event of more than common good,
Tho' Envy howl with all her brood,
Thy wonted power employ,
Usher the mighty moments in
Sacred to harmony and joy,
And from this æra let their course begin!

THE MONTHLY CHRONOLOGER.

SUNDAY, May 27.

 HIS night between ten and eleven o'clock, as Mr. Venables, a wholesale carcase butcher, in Whitechapel-market, and Mr. Rogers, cabinet-maker, in Houndsditch, were returning from the blue anchor alehouse, at Stepney, they were attacked in Redman's grove by three footpads who demanded their money; and on their making resistance, the villains fired at them, shot Mr. Venables under the jaw-bone, and the ball went thro' the lower part of his head; Mr. Rogers was shot in the forehead just above his eye; they both expired immediately. The unfortunate deceased persons staying after their friends to have another bowl of punch, occasioned their meeting with the fatal accident.

MONDAY, 28.

William De Grey, Esq; his majesty's attorney general, moved the court of King's Bench, for the discharge of Mr. Bingley; the court refused to do it, but the attorney general as law-officer to the crown insisted upon it, as Mr. Bingley had suffered two years imprisonment, which was sufficient for any offence he may have been guilty of. He was set at liberty accordingly.

WEDNESDAY, 30.

About two o'clock, the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and common-council, presented an

address to his majesty at St. James's, on the birth of the princess, which was as follows:

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty,
The humble ADDRESS of the Lord Mayor,
Aldermen and Commons of the City of London,
in Common-Council assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

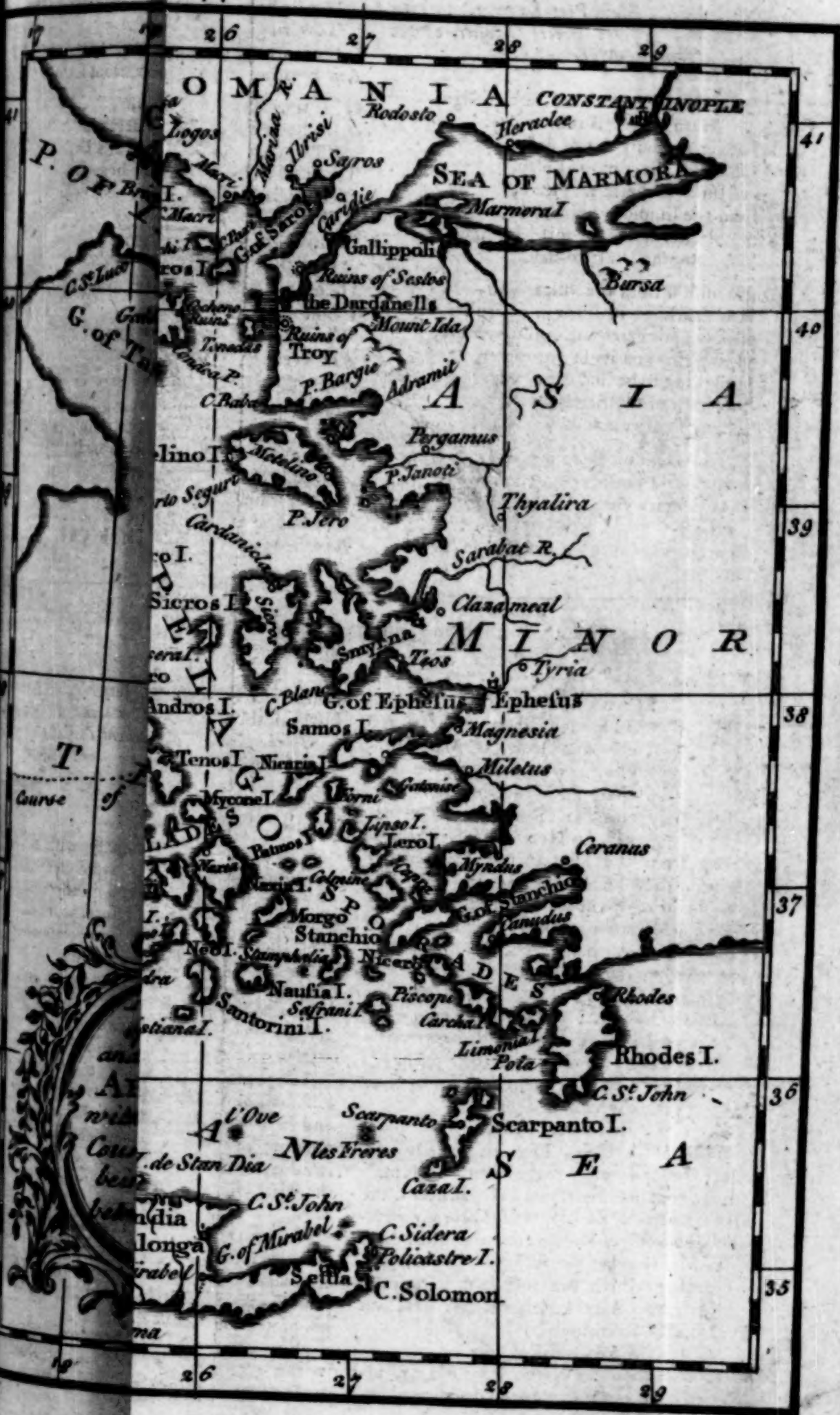
"We wait upon your majesty with our sincere congratulations on the happy delivery of our most gracious queen, and on the birth of another princess, and to assure your majesty that there are not in all your dominions any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, and more affectionate to your majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your crown.

Long may your majesty reign the true guardian of the liberties of this free country, and be the instrument, in the hands of Providence, of transmitting to our posterity these invaluable rights and privileges, which are the birth-right of the subjects of this kingdom."

To which the king gave a gracious answer, and concluded with saying, "That whilst the citizens of London addressed him with such professions of loyalty, they should be sure of his protection."

Whilst the Lord Mayor and council waited in the anti-chamber, the Lord Chamberlain particularly addressed the Lord Mayor,

1770.



Engrav'd for the London



Porto novo
Sassani I.
Valona I.
C. Langusta
P. Ragusa
Otranto
C. Otranto
Fano
C. S. Mary
Corfu I.
C. Bian
Pachsu
Antipachsu
Previsa
C. Figalo
St. Maura
Cephalonia
Cephalonia I.
P. de Scilla
Fleet
Zant I.
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Prodano I.
Navarino
Modoni
D. Sapienza I.
I. Calrotre
T. Cape Matapan
Cerigo
Cerigotto I.
Garabusa I.
CANDIA I.
C. S. John
Selino I.
Macedonia
Albania
Epirus
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Candia I.
C. S. John
Selino I.

An Accurate Map
of the MOREA,
and the Islands in the
ARCHIPELAGO.
with the Neighbouring
Countries in GREECE,
being the Seat of War
between the RUSSIANS
and TURKS.

English Miles.

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20 Longitude 21 East 22 from 23 London



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told him that his majesty did expect his Lordship would not make any speech or reply to the answer he should receive.

In going, after the Lord Mayor, Sir Robert Ladbroke, Mr. Ald. Alsop, and Sir W. Stephenson had passed through Temple Bar, the gates were suddenly shut against Mr. Alderman Harley (who was next in the procession) by a mob, few in number, who directly began to pelt him with stones and dirt, and pulled him out of his chariot, opposite to the door of the Sun Tavern, into which he was forced to take to preserve his life. After continuing here some time, he went away in a hackney coach, with a gentleman who had accompanied him, but not without being followed and insulted by part of the mob that at first beset him.

At ten in the morning, came on at Guildford the election for a coroner of the county of Surrey. The candidates were Mr. Fewell and Mr. Peck. The patriotic part of the county were divided in their favour, each of the candidates having signed the Surrey Petition, and being equally men of worth and character. The contest was carried through with the greatest harmony and friendship imaginable. The poll was closed about five in the afternoon, when Mr. Peck was declared duly elected.

About noon the freeholders, in the interest of each candidate, united in their opinions for a remonstrance to the king, which was proposed and read by Sir Joseph Mawbey; in which there were only three persons dissentient.

THURSDAY, 31.

This day the Lord Mayor, attended by the two sheriffs, and some other of the worshipful court of aldermen, proceeded in state to the Old Bailey, where his lordship laid the first stone of a new jail, intended instead of the present very inconvenient one of Newgate. His lordship, after laying the above stone, made a present of twenty guineas to the workmen, and then proceeded to the Sessions-house to try the prisoners.

FRIDAY, June 1.

The committee of the court of common-council appointed to present the earl of Chatham with the thanks of that court for his patriotic conduct in parliament, waited on his lordship this day accordingly.

SATURDAY, 2.

This morning, a little after nine, came on the court of King's Bench, Westminster-hall, before the right hon. the Lord Mansfield, the trial of Mr. Almon, by information, for selling the letter of Junius to the public in the London museum. A little before the jury went out, and staid upwards of two hours, when they returned, and put the question to the court, whether the master might be deemed guilty of publishing what had been sold only by his servant, and that without his knowledge. The judge answered,

that in his opinion he was, as every master is, answerable for the acts of his servant. The jury thereupon immediately brought him in guilty, and his sentence now remains in the breast of the court. But a new trial is moved for, and expected.

Extract of a letter from Portsmouth. This day arrived the Tamer sloop of war, and the Florida store ship, from Port Egmont in Falkland island, near the straits of Magellan. By these ships we learn, that two Spanish frigates, of 36 guns each, came to Port Egmont, and, in the name of his catholic majesty, required our people to quit the island. The Spaniards have transported troops from Buenos Ayres, and have left a garrison on that part of the island lately settled by the French.

MONDAY, 4.

Was observed as the anniversary of his majesty's nativity, who then entered into the 33d. year of his age.

TUESDAY, 5.

This afternoon the old bridge at Uxbridge fell in, but happily no damage else ensued.

FRIDAY, 8.

This morning, about half past six o'clock, her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales set out with a grand retinue, from Carlton-house, Pall-mall, for Dover, in order to embark for Germany. She was accompanied by the duke of Gloucester, and attended by Lord Boston, chamberlain of the household, Lady Howe, one of the ladies of her bed-chamber, Miss Reynolds, and Miss Heinken, dressing-woman to her royal highness. It was thirty-four years, the latter end of April last, since her royal highness first landed in England in 1736.

The address of the ministers and elders of the church of Scotland having been transmitted by the earl of Glasgow, his majesty's high commissioner, to the earl of Rochford, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, has by him been presented to his majesty: which address his majesty was pleased to receive very graciously.

WEDNESDAY, 13.

This morning, at nine o'clock, came on in the court of King's Bench at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield, the trial of Henry Sampson Woodfall, the original printer of JUNIUS's letter, in the public advertiser of the 19th of Dec. last.

The Attorney-General addressed the jury with a speech on the importance of juries; but confined them to the *bare fact* of the defendant publishing a paper which he called a libel; and then made an apology for bringing on Mr. Almon's trial for *selling only*, before the original printer's, and promised to prosecute all the printers and publishers of this celebrated paper.

Lord Mansfield, in his charge to the jury, said, they had nothing to do with the *intention*, nor with the other words in the information.

tion, such as *malicious, seditious, &c.* which he affirmed were all words of course; just as it is said in an indictment for murder, *that the person did, &c. at the instigation of the devil.* Then he remarked as upon Mr. Almon's trial, that there were but two propositions for the consideration of the jury; one was, the *fact* of publishing the paper; the other, whether a *proper construction* was put, in the information, upon the *several* blanks in the paper in the information: and as to the contents of the paper, whether they were *true* or *false*, he said, it was wholly immaterial.

At ten minutes before twelve the jury withdrew, and returned about nine, finding Mr. Woodfall guilty of *printing and publishing only.* The court had broke up about 4 o'clock, so that the jury, by order of Lord Mansfield, attended his lordship with their verdict, at his house in Bloomsbury-Square.

This day the address, petition, and remonstrance from the freeholders of the county of Surrey was presented to his majesty at St. James's by Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. one of the representatives of that county in parliament, attended by the Hon. Peter King, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Barts. and Benjamin Hayes, Esq.

FRIDAY, 15.

Being the first day of term, the two Kennedys were brought before Lord Mansfield, in order to take their trial for murder a second time, on the appeal of the widow Bigby; but it appeared that the plaintiff had pleaded *oyer* on the appeal, but not on the bill, which must be done before the court can bring them to trial. This omission made it necessary for the prisoners to be sent back to the King's-Bench till the necessary forms are gone through, so that the hearing is put off *fine die.*

About 12 o'clock at noon, a most terrible fire broke out at Foulsham, a market town in Norfolk, occasioned (as supposed) by a person throwing some hot wood-ashes on a dunghill adjoining to an old thatched stable. The weather being dry and windy, 14 houses were entirely consumed; the church, chancel and steeple were demolished, leaving only the bare walls standing. The flames raged so fierce and rapid, that many of the poor sufferers lost their all, to their inconceivable distress. The damage cannot yet be computed, but is supposed to amount to some thousands of pounds, exclusive of the church. Sir Edward Astley's and Mr. Milles's engines came just time enough to stop the fire at Mr. Quarles's, or the whole town it is thought must have suffered, being mostly thatched buildings.

SUNDAY, 17.

The young princess was baptized in the great council room at St. James's by his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, and was named Elizabeth; the sponsors were her royal highness the Princess Amelia in person; the duke of Bedford, and the duchess of Marlborough, as proxies.

THURSDAY, 21.

At five o'clock this morning, died the Right Hon. William Beckford, lord mayor of the city of London. If his lordship's character could want any additional lustre, it would receive it from the manner of his death; for notwithstanding his having a heavy cold on him (which he acquired at Fonthill the day before) so attentive was he to discharge the important duty committed to his trust, as chief magistrate of this city, that he travelled a hundred miles in one day, which increased his cold to a rheumatic fever, and thereby terminated the life of a man, whose character will ever be held in the most honourable and grateful remembrance.

The late lord mayor has made the following disposition of his estate: he has bequeathed a legacy of 5000l. to each of his natural children, except the eldest son, who was married to a lady of fortune in Jamaica; and to him he left only 1000l. unless his wife should die before she came of age; and, in that case, 5000l. in common with the rest; but as the will was made some time ago, and she is now of age, that 4000l. lapses.

The greatest part of his fortune, real and personal, except some other inconsiderable legacies, he has left to his legitimate son; and in case of his death, to his eldest natural son; and in default of heirs of his body, to his other natural sons in succession, according to seniority.

The lady of the late lord mayor having a settlement on her marriage of 1000l. a year, there is no provision made for her in the will of her husband.

FRIDAY, 22.

Came on at the Guild-hall of this city a common-hall for the election of a lord mayor for the remainder of this year, in the room of William Beckford, Esq; the recorder made a very handsome speech in praise of the late lord mayor, which was received by the livery with much merited applause. He then opened shortly the lamented occasion of calling that common hall. The names of the several aldermen, who have served the office of sheriff were then put in nomination. The majority of hands was greatly for the two aldermen Trecothick and Crosby, and was declared by the sheriffs, but a poll was demanded in favour of Sir Henry Bankes, which was accordingly granted, and ordered to be taken at two o'clock.

MONDAY, 25.

Yesterday being midsummer day, a common hall was held at Guild-hall, London, for the election of sheriffs and other officers.

The several aldermen below the choir had not served the office of sheriff, were in nomination; as were likewise the younger men who had been drunk to by the livery: but Messrs. Baker and Martyn, who were nominated by the livery, had a general

of hands, and were accordingly returned and declared duly elected with the greatest applause.

This day Sir William Henry Ashurst, Knt. was called to the degree of serjeant at law at the bar of the court of common pleas, Westminster, with the usual ceremony, and afterwards took his seat as Puisne judge of the King's Bench, in the room of judge Blackstone, who took his place as Puisne judge of the common pleas, in the room of Sir Joseph Yates, deceased.

FRIDAY, 29.

This day the poll for lord mayor of the city of London, for the remainder of the mayorship, ended at Guildhall; when the numbers were, for Alderman Trecothick 1601; Crosby 1434; Banks 437; whereupon the return of the two former being made to the court of Aldermen for their choice, the election was declared for Alderman Trecothick. He was therefore immediately invested with the gold chain.

SCOTLAND.

Edinburgh, May 25. Yesterday the general assembly of the church of Scotland met here: The right hon. the earl of Glasgow, his majesty's commissioner, went in procession from his lodgings, attended by a great many of the nobility and gentry, and escorted by a party of the military and city-guard, to the high church, where he was received at his entrance by the Lord Provost and magistrates, in their robes; and after a sermon preached by the Rev. Dr. McKnight, the former moderator, the commissioner proceeded to the isle, and being seated on the throne, the assembly was constituted by prayer; the commissions were then read, after which they proceeded to the choice of a moderator, when the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlisle, minister at Inveresk, was chosen by a very great majority.—The earl of Glasgow then presented his majesty's commission, appointing him to represent his majesty's person in this assembly; also his majesty's letter and warrant for the royal bounty of one thousand pounds; which were read and ordered to be recorded.

AMERICA.

New-York, April 2. Our general assembly prorogued to the 1st day of May.

New-York, April 9. Saturday night the 8th ult. about eleven o'clock, fourteen or fifteen soldiers were seen about the Liberty pole in this city, which one of them had ascended, with an intent to take off and carry away the topmast and vane; as soon as they were discovered, five or six young men, who were accidentally crossing the green at that time, made up towards the pole, to see what they were about, but they were immediately backed and driven off the green by the soldiers; who finding they were discovered, and apprehensive that the inhabitants would be alarmed, they made off; soon after some

persons went into the town, and acquainted their friends with the proceedings of the soldiers; upon which fourteen or fifteen persons came up to the green, and going to the pole, were there surrounded by about forty or fifty soldiers with their cutlasses drawn; upon which four or five of them retreated to the house of Mr. Bicker, and were followed by part of the soldiers, who immediately called out for the soldiers from the Barracks; upon which they were joined by a very considerable body that came over the Barrack fence; some people who were in the house, seeing the imminent danger to which Mr. Bicker and his family were exposed, got out the back way and ran to alarm the citizens; the chapel-bell was immediately rung, upon the hearing of which, the soldiers retreated precipitately. Col. Robertson, the commanding officer of the regiment, repaired to the Barracks as soon as he had notice of the disturbance; he immediately ordered the sentinel to be confined, and remained up all night, to prevent any further mischief being done; and as a number of the inhabitants nightly guarded the pole till the transports with the soldiers were sailed, they were disappointed in effecting their designs against it, although they positively swore they would carry off some part of it with them.

Boston, April 19. On Wednesday last his honour the lieutenant-governor sent the following message to the honourable house of representatives, viz.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

"THE king's instructions to the governors of this province, relative to a salary, and the engagements which have been repeatedly made by the representatives of the people upon the same subject, are so well known to many, and I presume to most of the members of the house, that it may rather be wondered at, I have been so long silent at your delay to make provision for my support, than that I now take any notice of it. It is near nine months since I came to the chair; my expences from various causes have necessarily exceeded those of any lieutenant-governors my predecessors when they have been in the chair. If my services have fallen short, it is not owing to want of application; my whole time being taken up in public business to the neglect of all private affairs; nor is it owing to want of disposition; it being my sincere desire and endeavour, whilst I have opportunity in this station, to promote the interest of the province.

I may not any longer omit recommending to you seriously to consider whether your thus distinguishing me from those who have gone before me, and laying me under a necessity of postponing the part I am to take in the business of the general court, may not hereafter be improved to the disadvantage of the government. If I had nothing more in view than pecuniary advantage to myself, with

less difficulty I might have refrained from sending you this message. I have higher motives, my duty to the king, and a regard to the public interest.

T. HUTCHINSON."

Council Cham. Cambridge 11th April 1770. To which message the honourable house on the 13th returned the following answer:

May it please your honour:

"YOUR message of the 11th inst. laid before this house has been duly considered; and in answer thereto, we would acquaint your honour that the house had before assigned Thursday next, to take under consideration a grant to his majesty for the support of the lieutenant-governor and commander in chief. We conceive that nothing contained in the message affords sufficient ground for an alteration of that assignment. The house therefore do not think it proper to postpone the business of the government now lying before them for the purpose of considering of that grant. At the time appointed we shall consider the matter with all that attention which the duty we owe to the king, and our regard to the public welfare shall require."

On Tuesday last the house of representatives, by a majority of seventy out of seventy-four votes, made choice of John Hancock, Esq; to be speaker *pro tempore*, for the present session, and during the bodily indisposition of Thomas Cushing, Esq; and having presented him to the lieutenant-governor for his approbation, his honour was pleased to send the house the following message, viz.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

YOU having signified to me by a message that Tho. Cushing, Esq; your speaker is necessarily absent by reason of sickness, and that you have chosen John Hancock, Esq; to be speaker *pro tempore*, for the present session, and during the indisposition of the said Thomas Cushing, Esq; and having presented him to me for my approbation, pursuant to the direction of the Royal Explanatory Charter:

By virtue of the authority given me by the said royal explanatory charter I disapprove of the choice you have made.

T. HUTCHINSON."

The foregoing message was read and then the house was adjourned till the next morning ten o'clock.

We hear that yesterday the house of representatives made choice of James Warren, Esq; member for Plymouth, speaker *pro tempore*; whom his honour the lieutenant-governor was pleased to approve of.

Extract of a Letter from Boston, April 22, 1770.

"A committee of the town-meeting having waited upon the superior court, requiring the judges to proceed on the trial of Capt. Preston, and the other military delinquents, the court found it necessary, in order to keep the people quiet, to arraign Richardson for

the murder of young Snider. Richardson was arraigned on the Monday, and directed to prepare for his trial on the Friday following. Accordingly on Friday he was brought to the bar, and asked by the court if he was then ready. He observed to the court, that he had made application to almost every lawyer in town to undertake his cause, which no one would do; that the constables had refused summoning his witnesses; that the gaoler had used him in so cruel a manner, that he was even frequently debarred the liberty of conversing with his friends; that every news-paper was crowded with the most infamous and false libels against him, in order to prejudice the minds of his jury; that, without council, without the privilege of calling upon his witnesses to support his innocence, he was now to be tried for his life. The judges, moved with compassion at this representation, put off the trial to a further day. The court then made application to the several lawyers present, to appear as his council, but this one and all of them declined.

The court, finding that a requisition had no effect, exerted their authority, and ordered Mr. Fitch, the advocate-general, to appear on his trial. Fitch made use of a variety of arguments in order to excuse himself, which the court did not judge sufficient. He concluded with saying, that since the court had peremptorily ordered him, he would undertake it. The court also ordered the high sheriff to give particular instructions to his officers with respect to the summoning the witnesses.

The court the same day adjourned to the Wednesday fortnight following. Since the court met after their adjournment, Richardson has been twice brought to the bar, but his well-disposed council, Mr. Fitch, was sick both times; in consequence of which, the court appointed Josiah Quincy, jun. to supply his place, and Richardson was the day before yesterday upon trial, which trial continued till 12 o'clock that night, and the jury sat till eight o'clock yesterday morning; after the witnesses were examined, and the lawyers had done pleading, the judges gave their charge to the jury with great spirit and good sense. Judge Oliver said, the prisoner had been guilty of nothing but manslaughter, and expatiated upon the dangerous tendency of encouraging mobbing, and on the inherent right of mankind to defend themselves when attacked.

All the judges were agreed, that the prisoner had done nothing more than necessity had constrained him to, and made no doubt but the jury would acquit him. Vast crowds of people attended during the whole trial. After the judges had delivered their opinion, the mob grew very outrageous: they repeatedly called out to hang, and were sure no jury dared to acquit him: they sometimes call-

ed out, Remember, jury, you are upon oath! Blood demands blood! It is said they had got a halter ready to hang him in his way from the court house to the prison; but the judges kept him for upwards of an hour in the court-house, until the mob were principally dispersed. At eight o'clock this morning the jury brought in their verdict, guilty of murder. The judges immediately adjourned the court to the 29th of May, without passing sentence.

From the Massachusetts Gazette of Thursday April 26.

Cambridge, April 25, 1770. On the 7th instant, his honour the lieutenant-governor was pleased to send the following message to both houses of Assembly:

Gentlemen of the Council, and
Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

THE secretary will lay before you several papers which I have received from one of his majesty's justices of the peace, and divers other persons, inhabitants of the town of Gloucester, and which relate to a very disorderly riotous transaction in the said town. A person appears to have been most inhumanly treated for seeking redress in a course of law, for former injuries received. As this information comes to me while the general court is sitting, I have thought it proper to communicate it to the House of Representatives, as well as to his majesty's council, that if any act or order of the whole legislature shall be judged necessary for strengthening or encouraging the executive powers of government, there may be an opportunity for it. I must observe to you, that a number of persons of the same town were prosecuted and fined at the superior court for the county of Essex, in June last, for injuring the person and property of the present complainant in a barbarous manner, and if it be truly represented, that the same persons have been concerned in this second offence, it is a great aggravation of their crime, and a defiance of the laws and the authority of government.

Council Chamb. Apr. 7. T. HUTCHINSON.

On Tuesday last Mr. Hancock, Colonel Warren, Major Hawley, Mr. Spooner, and Mr. Remington, a committee of the house of representatives, waited on his honour the lieutenant governor, with the following answer to the foregoing message:

May it please your honour,

THE house of representatives have taken into due consideration your message of the 7th inst. with the papers laid before them by the secretary, agreeable to your direction.

We assure your honour that we have the most abhorrence of all disorderly and riotous transactions: it is the disposition as well as the duty of this house to take the most effectual measures to discountenance them, and to strengthen and encourage the executive officers in the exercise of all their lawful pow-

ers of government. Nothing, therefore, shall be wanting on our part for the promoting of these purposes, whenever any further steps shall appear to us to be necessary: at present, it is the opinion of the house, that the laws now in being, duly executed, would be fully sufficient; and to add to the severity of the provision made by them, without an apparent and *very urgent* necessity, might put into the hands of the civil magistrate a power that would be dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people.

When complaints are made of riots and tumults, it is the wisdom of government, and it becomes the representatives of the people especially, to enquire into the real causes of them: if they arise from oppression, as is frequently the case, a thorough redress of grievances will remove the cause, and probably put an end to the complaint. It may justly be said of the people of this province, that they seldom, if ever, have assembled in a tumultuous manner, unless they have been oppressed: It cannot be expected, that a people, accustomed to the freedom of the English constitution, will be patient, while they are under the hand of tyranny and arbitrary power: they will discover their resentment in a manner which will naturally displease their oppressors; and in such a case, the severest laws and most rigorous execution will be to little purpose. The most effectual method to restore tranquillity would be to remove their burdens, and to punish all those who have been the procurers of their oppression.

Your honour, in your message, has pointed us to an instance, which you are pleased to call "a very disorderly and riotous transaction in the town of Gloucester:" but we cannot think it consistent with the justice of this house, to come into measures which may imply a censure upon individuals, much less upon a community hitherto unimpeached in point of good order; or even to form any judgement upon the matter, until more light shall appear than the papers accompanying your message afford. The house cannot easily conceive what should determine your honour so particularly to recommend this instance to the consideration of the assembly, while others of a much more heinous nature and dangerous tendency have passed altogether unnoticed in your message: your having received the information while the general court is sitting, cannot alter its nature and importance, or render it more or less necessary to be considered by the legislature: the instance, admitting it to be truly represented in all its aggravating circumstances, certainly cannot be more threatening to government than those enormities which have been notoriously committed by the soldiery of late; and in many instances have strangely escaped punishment, though repeated more than a second time, and in defiance of the laws and authority of government.

A military force, if posted among the people without their express consent, is itself one of the greatest grievances, and threatens the total subversion of a free constitution; much more if designed to execute a system of corrupt and arbitrary power, and even to exterminate the liberties of the country. The bill of rights, passed immediately after the revolution, expressly declares, that "the raising and keeping a standing army within the kingdom in a time of peace, without the consent of parliament, is against law:" and we take this occasion to say with freedom, that the raising and keeping a standing army within this province in a time of peace, without the consent of the general assembly, is equally against law. Yet we have seen a standing army procured, posted and kept within this province, in a time of profound peace, not only without the consent of the people, but against the remonstrance of both houses of assembly. Such a standing army must be designed to subjugate the people to arbitrary measures: it is a most violent infraction of their natural and constitutional rights: it is an unlawful assembly of all others the most dangerous and alarming; and every instance of its actually restraining the liberty of any individual, is a crime which infinitely exceeds what the law intends by a riot. Surely then your honour cannot think this house can descend to the consideration of matters comparatively trifling, while the capital of the province has so lately been in a state of actual imprisonment, and the government itself is under duress.

The fatal effects which will for ever attend the keeping a standing army within a civil government have been severely felt in this province: they landed in an hostile manner, and with all the ensigns of triumph; and your honour must well remember, that they early invested the manufactory-house in Boston, a capacious building, occupied by a number of families, whom they besieged and imprisoned. The extraordinary endeavours of the chief justice of the province to procure the admission of troops into that house in a manner plainly against law, will not easily be erased from the minds of the people. Surely your honour could not be so fond of a military establishment as willingly to interpose in a matter which might possibly come before you as a judge: to what else can such astonishing conduct be imputed, unless to a sudden surprise and the terror of military power in the chief justice of the province, which evidently appeared to have also arrested the inferior magistrate?

We shall not enlarge on the multiplied outrages committed by this unlawful assembly, in frequently assaulting his majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects; in beating and wounding the magistrate, when in the execution of his office; in rescuing prisoners out of the hand of justice; and finally, in perpetrating the most horrid slaughter of a number of inhabitants but a few days before the sitting of

this assembly, which your honour must undoubtedly have heard of: But not the least notice of these outrageous offences has been taken; nor can we find the most distant hint of the late inhuman and barbarous action, either in your speech at the opening of the present session, or even in this message to both houses. These violences so frequently committed, added to the most rigorous and oppressive prosecutions carried on by the officers of the crown against the subjects, grounded upon unconstitutional acts, and in the court of admiralty, uncontroled by the courts of common law, have been justly alarming to the people. The disorder which your honour so earnestly recommends to the consideration of the assembly very probably took its rise from such provocations; the use, therefore, which we shall make of the information in your message, shall be to enquire into the grounds of the people's uneasiness, and to seek a radical redress of their grievances. Indeed, it is natural to expect, that while the terror of arms continues in the province, the laws will be in some degree silent; but when the channels of justice shall be again opened, and the law can be heard, the person who has complained to your honour, if he has truly represented his case, will have his remedy. We yet entertain hopes that the military power, so grievous to the people, will soon be removed from the province to stations where it may better answer the design for which it was originally raised; till then we have nothing to expect but that tyranny and confusion will still prevail in defiance of the laws of the land, and the just and constitutional authority of government.

NOTE to our CORRESPONDENTS.

THE additional remarks on the four dissertations are come to hand, and shall be properly regarded.

We are sorry that Y. Z. should disapprove a late alteration in our plan, as it is equally in interest and inclination to please; but the object of his complaint has given such general satisfaction, that we could not possibly oblige him without offending a very considerable number of our readers.

The Latin poem beginning Mœnia doctus iniquens, &c. may be had at the publisher's: it is not calculated for our Magazine, but is customary for us to send what we ourselves decline to other publications.

I. I. we have suppressed in consequence of the alternative allowed us by the author.

A Lover of Poetry would do well to send his remarks to the Magazine which criticised the poem he mentions.

The Verses from Cambridge are not current.

D. B. with several others shall be attended to.

The Saviour from our Hitchen friend is received, but we cannot at present make use of it.

J. W.'s hint is a good one, and if he will assist us in putting it in execution, we are obliged to him.